

VOLUME XII

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# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# SOCIAL FORCES

October, 1933

## A NEGLECTED TENDENCY IN EUGENICS

ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON

*Yale University*

THE secret of future events is often hidden in trends which are now scarcely visible. This is perhaps the case in eugenics. At any rate there are signs of a minor trend directly the opposite of the main trend which now creates so much anxiety. This main trend is of course the change in our population due to the differential birth rate whereby the people who are presumably the most valuable have much smaller families than those of less value. The tendency toward small families has followed the usual course of innovations. It began in the upper levels of society and worked downward. It has not yet permeated all classes equally, but its effect is almost universally visible. For example, among a hundred completed families of working men whom I recently investigated at Framingham, Massachusetts, I found an average of only 3.7 children per family. This is only about half the size of the average family among the best type of people in colonial days. Even among the unskilled third of these working men, the average number of children is only 4.5. Thus what the upper levels of society began to do a hundred years ago, the lower levels are beginning to do today. By the same token, what the upper classes do today, the lower classes are likely to do tomorrow.

If this general principle is true, the facts shown in Figure 1 take on a deep significance. The figure happens to be based on persons of Huntington descent, but any other method of getting a fair sample of the old English stocks of the United States would give a similar result. The line in Figure 1 shows the average number of children per family among all persons married at various dates from the seventeenth century, onward. Down to 1890 it is based on the Huntington Genealogical Memoir, and after that date on statistics which have recently been gathered from persons of all social levels who bear the name Huntington in all parts of the United States. Except for the final decade, the figure represents completed families. The dotted line at the end represents the actual data for the final decade. It is based on families where the marriage took place from 1910 to 1919. Since the data were gathered mainly in 1932, but partly in the two or three preceding years, it is certain that by no means all of the families were then complete. If 30 more children should be added to the 99 families on which this part of the diagram is based, the curve of Figure 1 would follow the solid line.

Using this latter line, which undoubtedly represents approximately the truth, we may interpret the curve. From 1650

until 1810 the families averaged not far from seven children apiece. There was a slight decline from the very large families of the earliest settlers, but nothing of much significance. Beginning with those who were married from 1811 to 1820, however, and whose families were born mainly between 1815 and 1835, there was a tremendous decline in the number of children. This continued at a gradually diminishing rate until 1880, and the couples who were married from 1881 to 1890 had an average of only 3.18 children in contrast to 6.90

Other evidence points to a similar stabilization of families. Wilcox, Sydenstricker and Lorimer have all investigated the number of children per native white woman in different parts of the United States at successive censuses. They find that most sections still show a decline from decade to decade. This is especially rapid in the South and slower in the West. In the East, however, it almost disappears, and in most states there has recently been little change. In northern New England, there actually appears to be a reversal,

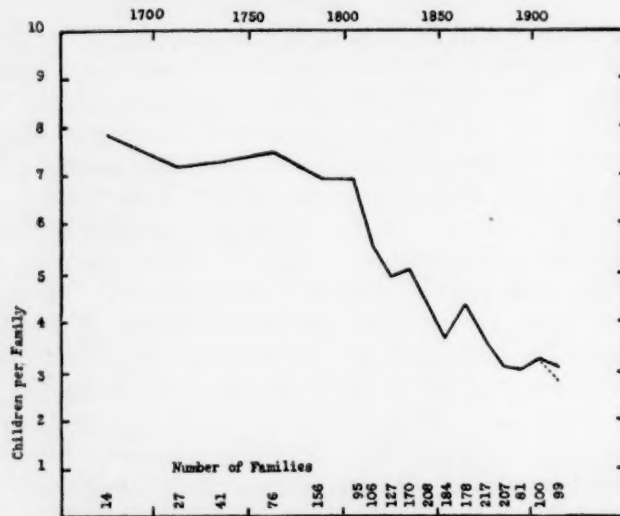


FIG. 1. THE CHANGE IN THE SIZE OF FAMILIES FROM COLONIAL DAYS ONWARD

among those who were married 80 years earlier. Since 1880, however, there has been no further change in the number of children. Among these people of old New England stock the families appear to have become stabilized at an average size of about 3.1 children. In view of the relatively small number of infertile marriages, and the low death rate prevailing among this stock, this number appears to be about sufficient to ensure the preservation of the same number of persons from generation to generation.

so that the birth rate among native white women is a trifle higher now than formerly. This region is the one where the old colonial white stock of the kind among which birth restriction first made its appearance is most predominant. The people there are of the same general type as those used above in the Huntington investigation, but are restricted to a limited area, whereas the Huntingtons are found in every state of the union. Thus when we look at the problem areally, as well as when we look at it from the standpoint of

a particular biological stock, we find evidence that the tendency toward birth restriction has burned itself out.

✓The next question is whether this stabilization in the size of families applies to all levels of society. As a partial answer we have divided the persons bearing the name Huntington into five groups based on social efficiency. Group I consists of the kind of people who are ordinarily called highly successful. They are not necessarily wealthy, but they are well educated and influential. Group II is similar, but not quite so successful. Group III comprises the great bulk of ordinary people. Group IV consists of the relatively unsuccessful, while Group V is composed of ignorant and incompetent persons of the type commonly regarded as undesirable. Using all persons who were married before 1910 and whose families are therefore presumably complete, and calculating the number of children per father in such a way as to eliminate the effect of an increasing proportion of the higher social levels in later decades, we get the following:

	<i>Number of Fathers</i>	<i>Number of Children per Father</i>
Group I.....	18	2.62
Group II.....	57	2.56
Group III.....	142	3.21
Group IV.....	83	3.30
Group V.....	18	4.94

This accords with the general tendency toward larger families among the less competent people. Nevertheless, three facts deserve notice. One is that birth restriction, or at least a pronounced lowering of the birth rate since colonial days, is evident even in Group V. A family of less than five children is quite different from one of seven. In the second place, the four other groups differ only a little, thus indicating that among people of old English descent, whose families have been completed during the past few decades, there

is almost equally great birth restriction at all except the lowest levels. The third noteworthy fact is that in Group I the average number of children is a little larger than in Group II. This may be sheer accident, for the number of families is too small to be more than suggestive. Nevertheless, it is worth looking into.

In order to have families enough to warrant any study of such a possible increase in the number of children in the upper classes during recent decades let us put together groups I and II, and IV and V respectively. We will also use the younger families, even though they are not

TABLE I

DATE OF MARRIAGE	CHILDREN PER FATHER			NUMBER OF CASES		
	Groups I and II	Group III	Groups IV and V	Groups I and II	Group III	Groups IV and V
Before 1890	3.16	4.50	4.53	25	48	32
1890-1899	2.70	2.82	3.79	17	40	24
1900-1909	2.34	3.10	4.28	27	41	22
1910-1919	2.60	2.20	3.69	32	35	32
1920-1929	1.81	1.53	1.91	36	36	31

Size of family in relation to social level and date of marriage among persons named Huntington.

complete. This gives the results shown in Table I.

The significant fact here is that during the last two decades the successful people of Groups I and II have been having more children than the medium people of Group III. It is quite certain that when the families of the last two decades in Groups I and II are complete the number of children born to parents married from 1910 to 1919 will be greater than to parents married from 1890 to 1899. The number born to the youngest group of parents will probably be greatest of all. In Group III, however, this will not be the case.

Among the middle class people there represented the process of reducing the number of children seems still to be in progress. Thus the data here given suggest that among the most successful people the number of children reached a minimum in the families of those who were married during the first decade of the present century, and is now increasing. They also suggest that among people of the upper and middle classes there has begun to be a tendency for the more successful to have more children than the less successful.

TABLE II

INDEX OF SUCCESS	AGE AT		PER CENT			CHILDREN PER		
	Graduation	Marriage	Married	Having children	Having more than 3 children	Father	Married graduate	Graduate
1	22.5	29.7	96.0	80.2	48.0	3.05	2.54	2.40
2	22.4	29.8	90.0	72.5	45.5	2.90	2.40	2.18
3	22.5	31.8	90.2	72.0	35.0	2.72	2.20	1.91
4	22.6	29.5	81.5	71.8	32.2	2.36	2.15	1.68
5	22.9	31.0	86.0	72.3	38.3	2.60	2.24	1.87
6	23.0	32.5	80.0	61.0	32.0	2.35	1.78	1.43
7	23.0	31.7	85.9	57.0	32.1	2.42	1.64	1.42
8	22.9	30.9	82.0	57.0	32.2	2.38	1.67	1.38
9	23.0	31.0	68.7	39.8	25.0	2.30	1.38	0.90
10	23.1	32.2	67.0	40.0	24.5	2.22	1.36	0.87

Family relationships in comparison with degree of success among Yale graduates of 1893, 1896, and 1898.

A few other data are available as to this question of the number of children among successful as compared with unsuccessful families. A few years ago in *The Builders of America*, Mr. Leon F. Whitney and the author described a study based on about 800 Yale College graduates of the classes of 1893, 1896, and 1898. We also described a similar study of about 2000 Harvard graduates of the years 1899, 1900, and 1901, which was made by Dr. J. C. Phillips

at our suggestion. Both studies gave identical results. The method at Yale was to ask about ten leading members of each class to grade their classmates into five groups based on general value to society. The most valuable man was the one doing most to make the world a better place in which to live. Of course outward success according to the common use of the term entered into the estimates, but many men were ranked high because of good work in inconspicuous positions. Missionaries, for example, topped the list both at Yale and Harvard.

Having obtained an average rating for each man, the next step was to arrange the men in ten groups according to their success. When the families of these groups are investigated, a surprisingly pronounced and regular change from the most successful to the least successful is apparent, as appears in Table II and in Figure 2. The more successful tend to graduate from college younger and to be married younger than the less successful. Certain other tendencies, however, are much stronger and more important than this. First, practically all of the most successful men are married—over 95 per cent—whereas only 66 per cent of the least successful tenth are married. Second among those who are married, the percentage who have children is about 84 per cent among the highly successful, but declines steadily to only 60 among the least successful. Again the number of children per father declines in similar fashion from 3.1 among the most successful to 2.2 among the group at the other extreme. The net result is that when the unmarried, the married who have no children, and the fathers are all included, the average number of children per graduate amounts to 2.42 among the most successful and only 0.85 among the least successful. At Harvard the corresponding figures are similar but slightly

lower. Moreover, this same contrast between the successful and the unsuccessful is found when the various occupations of the Yale and Harvard graduates are investigated separately. No matter whether we take lawyers, ministers, engineers, bankers, artists, military men, writers,

Another bit of evidence along this same line is found in the investigations made by Eden in Stockholm. In that highly prosperous and progressive city, where even the working people appear to be well satisfied and comfortable, the restriction of families has gone farther than almost

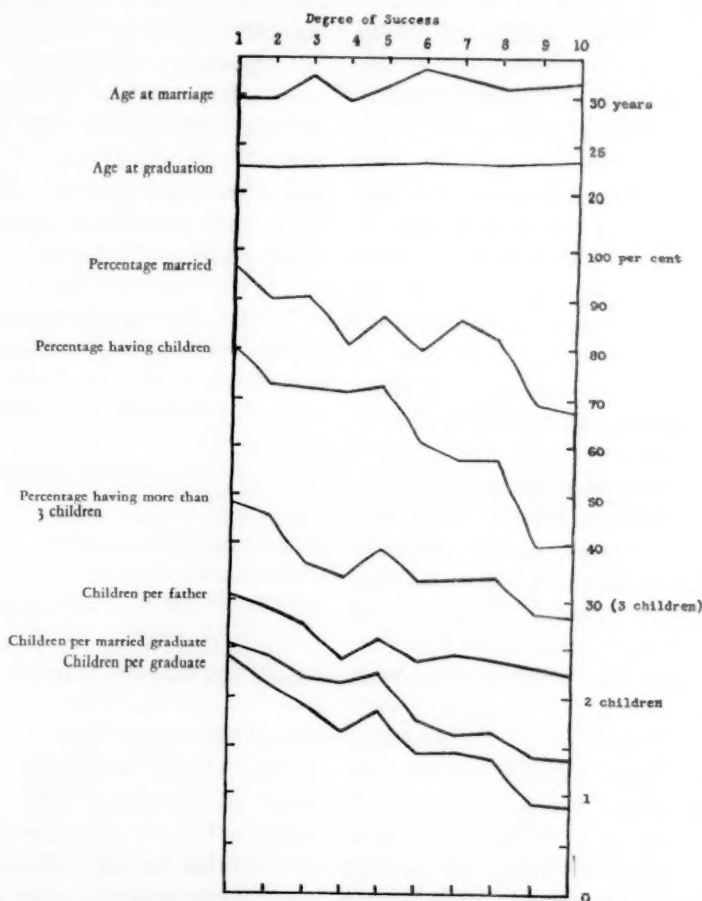


FIG. 2. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN COMPARISON WITH DEGREE OF SUCCESS AMONG YALE GRADUATES OF 1893, 1896, AND 1898

business men, or professors, the successful men, on an average, have decidedly more children than the less successful. Of course there are many notable exceptions, for some of the most competent and valuable people are childless, but we are talking about averages.

anywhere else. One reason is that some years ago there was a strong socialist propaganda among the working people in favor of birth control. According to Eden the result has been that today among many groups of people the poorer and less successful families have fewer children than

do those which are more comfortably situated and more successful. In other words, we have here a case where the conditions which prevail so clearly among Yale and Harvard graduates are penetrating downward into the working classes.

Let us now turn to the opposite extreme and see what is happening to the size of families in a highly intellectual group where birth control is universally understood. The faculty of any great university supplies such a group. The Yale faculty affords striking evidence that within even a small and in many ways very homogeneous social group there may be highly significant differences in the birth rate. This conclusion is based on the entire official list of persons for whom the University Secretary keeps records. It includes not only ordinary teaching members of the faculty, but the corporation or trustees, the executive staff, research associates, exchange professors, and lecturers. The first question is whether these men have children enough to replace themselves. The answer is discouraging. Using the word "faculty" to include all the persons named above, we find that the 384 members of the faculty born previous to 1890 have only 634 children, or an average of 1.65 per man. A few children who died young have probably not been recorded, and some of the younger men will doubtless have more children, but even this is not likely to bring the average above 1.8. If allowance is made for the deaths that must occur before all the children reach maturity, it is obvious that when the sons of the present faculty are mature there will be only about eight of them for every ten men in the present generation. If these sons behave like their fathers the succeeding generation will boast of only six grown men to replace the original ten, and soon there will be none at all.

When the faculty is divided into groups based on success as measured by academic standing and outside reputation, quite a different picture emerges. In order to get as homogeneous a group as possible we will take only the men born from 1875 to 1889. In one category we will place the members of the Yale Corporation and a number of deans and other professors who are especially distinguished. These men were selected solely for their distinction without respect to the size of their families. In the next categories we will place, first the other men of full professorial rank, then those with the ranks of associate professor, assistant professor, and

TABLE III

KIND OF MEN	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE MARRIED	CHILDREN PER MAN
Most distinguished group.....	37	94.6	2.64
Others of full professorial rank....	113	93.7	1.52
Associate professorial rank.....	41	92.7	1.66
Assistant professorial rank.....	38	73.7	1.10
Instructorial rank.....	21	80.9	1.43

Marriage and children among members of the Yale faculty born from 1875 to 1889.

lastly instructor. So far as ability and success are concerned the associate professors and professors differ very little, and many who are now associate professors will in time be full professors. Assistant professors, however, who were born before 1890, have a relatively small chance of further change in rank and very few of them will ever become full professors. The same is still more true of instructors. The number of children per man in these five groups ranges from 2.6 in the most distinguished group through 1.5 for men of full professorial rank and 1.7 for associate professors down to only 1.1 for assistant professors and 1.4 for instructors (see

Table III). The number for the instructors is raised by the fact that this small group includes several able men who give only occasional lectures and hence have an academic rank decidedly lower than would be the case if they were regular members of the faculty. Their comparatively large families raise the general average. If only the genuine instructors who were born before 1890 were included, there would be scarcely one child per man.

Now that we have distributed our men into groups based on ability we find that under a regime where birth control is fully effective, success in life is closely correlated with size of family. The thirty-seven men of the ages here considered who stand out most conspicuously in the Yale faculty are practically all married, and 86 per cent of those who are married have children. Thus this group has enough children to maintain itself and increase, provided the children behave like their parents as to marriage and families. On the other hand among the men who devote all their time to university work and yet have not risen above the rank of instructor or assistant professor by the time they are 43 years of age only three quarters are married, and not much more than half have children. The children number less than half as many per man as do those of the most successful group. In other words, the Yale faculty agrees with the ablest of the people named Huntington, the graduates of Yale and Harvard, and the Swedes of Stockholm in indicating that among people whose families are strictly limited the most competent and successful tend to have the largest families.

The Yale faculty also agrees with the abler Huntingtons in showing that among the most competent groups there is a tendency toward an actual increase in the number of children per family. This appears from a comparison of the two parts of

Table IV. The first part is based on all men who have attained full professorial rank at Yale and were born before 1895, together with the associate professors who were born from 1890 to 1894 and are therefore so young that they are likely to become full professors. In the table all of these are divided into six groups according to their year of birth. Reducing the number of groups to three in order to make easy comparisons, we find that those born before 1875 have an average of 1.81 children per man including the unmarried and childless. Those born from 1875 to 1884 have an average of 1.71, and those born from 1885 to 1894 an average of 1.94. But

TABLE IV

YEAR OF BIRTH	ALL MEN OF PROFESSORIAL RANK			MOST DISTINGUISHED GROUP	
	Number of men	Per cent married	Children per man	Number of men	Children per man
1860-69	52	96.3	1.62	30	1.90
1870-74	46	95.6	2.02	21	2.05
1875-79	51	92.0	1.61	14	2.28
1880-84	50	94.0	1.82	11	2.73
1885-89	50	98.0	2.06	11	3.09
1890-94	55	94.5	1.84		

Marriage and children among men of various ages holding full professorial rank at Yale.

some of this last group were only 37 years old when the data as to their families were gathered. So this group is sure to have more children, and even the preceding group where the youngest men are aged 47 may have some. These facts indicate that in spite of the rapid spread of birth control, the families of Yale professors appear to be increasing.

The second part of the preceding table suggests that the increase in the size of families is thus far found mainly in the more distinguished group. There the number of children per man increases steadily from 1.9 among the men born before 1875 to 3.09 among those born from

1885 to 1889. The number of men concerned is of course small. It is also possible that failures to record children who died soon after birth were more common in the earlier records than now. Yet in spite of this there can be little question that the increase in families shown by these statistics is real. It confirms our other data in suggesting that the diminution in families arising from birth control has run its course among these distinguished men, and that they are returning to a normal situation wherein they will have enough children to replace themselves and to provide for a small increase from generation to generation. Under the impact of the movement for the restriction

of families during the last century the ideal family came to be looked upon as having only two children. This ideal is reflected in the size of the families of the men born before 1870. But the pendulum has swung too far. Now it is moving back. That the backward swing should begin among the most distinguished men is natural, for all new movements begin among the more thoughtful and far-sighted members of society. The original movement in the opposite direction toward the reduction of the unduly large families of a century or more ago also began with the leaders. But what the leaders are doing in the present generation, the rank and file will probably do later.

## CHARACTERISTICS AND DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY OF AMERICAN POPULATION GROUPS

FREDERICK OSBORN

*New York City*

MUCH of the material available to the eugenicist on differential fertility has in the past been limited to relatively small groups of the population. It has therefore seemed worth while to attack this problem in its largest aspects and to determine what are the major trends in the population as a whole and how they may best be studied. Such an attempt involves the study of material which in amount and variety requires a long and fairly comprehensive presentation.<sup>1</sup> A summary such as is here possible may be of value in pointing the lines of approach which have seemed most promising.

<sup>1</sup> The material in this paper is taken from "Population Changes in the United States" by Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn, to be published in November. References omitted here for the sake of brevity.

The broadest classifications of the American population may be made in three different ways: by ethnic distribution, by regional distribution, and by occupational distribution, and can be briefly summarized, as in Tables I, II, and III.

The classification of the population under any one of the headings which we have just enumerated is convenient because it is simple and easily understood, and it is particularly advantageous because these are used by the United States Bureau of the Census, and cover our entire population. But these classifications are not of interest to the eugenicist unless it is found first, that there are differences in fertility between the groups so classified, differences which are consistent and which appear to characterize each group, and, second, that the groups within any given classification dif-

fer from each other in the physical, mental or emotional characteristics of their members.

Let us consider first the question of differential fertility.

It is well known that immigrants from Europe are often characterized by an exceedingly high birth rate in the first generation in this country, and some years ago this was often a cause of apprehension

TABLE I

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930

	NUMBER	PER CENT
1. Total.....	122,775,046	100
2. White.....	108,864,207	88.7
3. Native.....	95,497,800	77.8
4. Foreign-born.....	13,366,407	10.9
5. Negro.....	11,891,143	9.7
6. Indian.....	332,397	0.3
7. Mexican.....	1,422,533	1.2
8. Other races.....	264,766	0.2

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY SIZE OF LOCALITY, 1930

	NUMBER	PER CENT
Total.....	122,775,046	100
Rural farm.....	30,157,513	24.6
Rural non-farm.....	23,662,710	19.3
Places of 2500-25,000.....	19,711,946	16.0
Places of 25,000-250,000.....	20,458,107	16.6
Places of 250,000 or over.....	28,784,770	23.5

among the older stocks. But it appears that in the second generation the birth rate tends (with a few exceptions, notably the French Canadian) to drop to the level of that of the surrounding population, and in the third generation ethnic differentials are scarcely distinguishable. In the same way the fertility of the Negro appears to reflect his surroundings rather than any racial difference. From the point of view of their differential fecundity the study of

ethnic groups, therefore, does not appear to give promise of results very interesting to the eugenicist, except in the case of some very limited groups.

In the distribution of the population by regional groups, the picture is very different. The country district has invariably a higher fertility than the town, the town a fertility higher than that of the

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALE GAINFUL WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930

	TOTAL
Number of gainful workers (including unemployed, classified according to previous occupation).....	38,077,804
	PER CENT
Occupational classes:	
Agriculture, fishing, forestry.....	25.8
Owners, renters, managers.....	15.5
Laborers.....	10.3
Mining, manufacturing, and mechanical industries, transportation and communication.....	44.1
Owners, officials, etc.*.....	2.4
All others.....	41.7
Trade and public service.....	15.6
Clerical occupations.....	5.4
Professional service.....	4.5
Domestic and personal service.....	4.7

\* Comprising: Operators, managers and officials (mines), Builders and building contractors, Managers, officials (manufacturing), Manufacturers, Captains, masters, mates and pilots, Garage owners, managers and officials, Owners and managers, truck, transfer, and cab companies, Officers and superintendents (railroad), proprietors, managers, and officials (transportation).

city. And the data available in the census make exact studies possible. From the census for the year 1930 we can calculate the rate at which various regional groups are reproducing themselves, and the extent to which each group is above or below its permanent replacement rate. At the average mortality rates for whites of 1927,

there is required a ratio of about 368 children aged 0 to four to 1,000 women aged fifteen to forty-four, in order permanently to replace a population group. In the rural farm groups (all races) in 1930, which, as we have already noted, then constituted about one-fourth of our population, this ratio was 545 children, 177 more than necessary for replacement. In other words, in 1930 our farm women were bearing about thirty per cent more children than would suffice for equal reproduction. For all other classes combined (total non-farm population) the ratio in 1930 was 351 children, or seventeen less than required to

Equally striking differences are found in the fertility of groups classified by occupation. Consistent differences have been demonstrated by Ogburn, Sydenstricker and Notestein, and others. One approach proceeds through an analysis of numbers of children ever born reported by mothers, aged 30 to 39 years, in different occupational classes, and numbers of children reported as living at the time of last confinement. From these data approximate net reproduction rates can be derived with certain assumptions which cannot be described here in detail. Chart II has been prepared from this material. The top lines

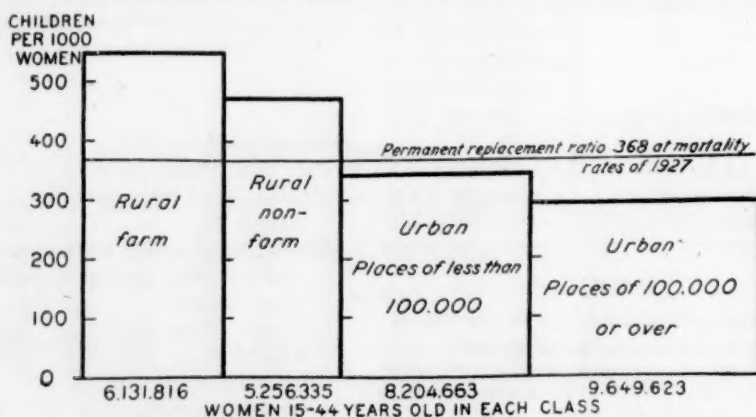


CHART I. RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIAL, UNITED STATES, 1930. RATIOS OF CHILDREN, AGED 0 TO 4, TO WOMEN, AGED 15 TO 44

reproduce the population. Of the other subdivisions, the rural non-farm population in 1930 supplied a ratio of 471, the towns from 2,500 to 100,000 in population, a ratio of 341, and the metropolis a ratio of 293, or seventy-five per cent of the amount necessary for permanent replacement. Chart I shows these differences, plotted against the permanent replacement line.

There are other interesting regional differences, but we have said enough to indicate that in respect of differential fertility, the classification by regional groups is of eugenic interest.

show the average number of children ever born reported by mothers, aged 30 to 39, in each occupational group. The intermediate light lines show average numbers of children living at the time of the report. The black bars show estimated net reproduction values for each group. The black bar on the left represents the reproduction value just sufficient to maintain population equilibrium.

It is interesting to note that the farmers again rank highest above the permanent replacement line, with miners and laborers in the heavy industries a close second. The light industries are close to, and the

professional classes far below, replacement. Other studies and the further subdivisions of these groups show increasingly interesting results; but it is already clear that as respects differential fertility, the occupational grouping is an important one.

The differential fertility of population groups is of interest to the eugenicist in proportion as the groups differ in the average characteristics of the individuals which compose them. That method of classification, ethnic, regional, or occupational, in which the groups show the greatest differences in average characteristics, will

of intelligence we may define briefly as one adapted to the main trend of civilization.

We have found a good many indices of cultural-intellectual development: proportions of illiteracy, mistakes in census returns, circulation of magazines, results of mental tests, and one index which may possibly in some cases be a measure of group differences in innate intelligence, namely, proportion of feeble-minded and mental defective. But our best index seems to be the mental test, which in its present state is a measure of developed intelligence when used between groups, though within groups and with proper

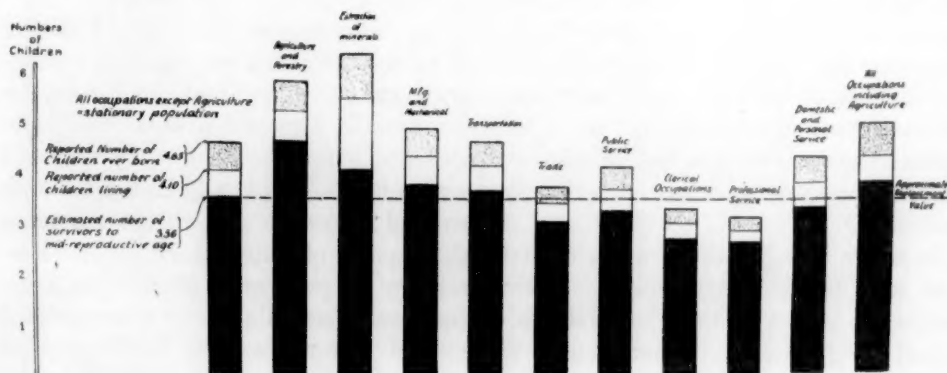


CHART II. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN AND CHILDREN LIVING REPORTED BY MOTHERS AGED 30 TO 39 AND ESTIMATED NUMBER OF SURVIVORS TO MID-REPRODUCTIVE AGE, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, UNITED STATES, 1928

provide the most valuable lines for research. We wish that we could supply data on innate intelligence, by which we mean genetic potentiality for intelligence, but in the present state of knowledge that is not possible. There are today no valid measures of innate genetic potentiality for intelligence applicable to large population groups. The best that can be done is to attempt to measure what we will call cultural-intellectual development, with footnotes on the relation which cultural-intellectual development may bear to genetic potentiality for intelligence in each particular case involved. This type

safeguards it may be used in some cases as a measure of innate intelligence.

To illustrate the distinction we have in mind, we may cite the interpretation, now admitted to be an improper interpretation, placed upon the results of the intelligence tests made in the United States Army during the World War. These tests showed extremely wide differences in "intelligence" between ethnic groups, between regional groups, and between occupational groups; and were taken to mean that there were proved to be wide differences in the innate or genetic qualities of these groups. This view was widely heralded, and caused a

serious injury to the advance of psychology. For later work established the fact that mental tests reflect their own environmental content and, indeed, can hardly exist otherwise. When standardized upon one group having a similar home, social, economic and educational background, the differences which mental tests reveal between the individuals within that group may, to a limited extent, and after having allowed for other factors, be considered innate differences. But such judgments can only be passed upon by psychologists trained in the technique of these discriminations, and then accepted warily. I do not mean to say that advances have not been made in this field; large groups of psychologists are engaged in it, and within the past five or six years such important advances have been made that the loose generalizations of extreme hereditarians or of extreme environmentalists are no longer justifiable.<sup>2</sup>

To return to population studies, mental tests may be used to compare different groups, as indices of their cultural-intellectual development, and are so used in this study.

Differences in cultural-intellectual development between ethnic groups in this country are not consistent, and are hard to interpret. For instance, Negroes rank consistently below the whites in the same locality; but southern rural whites do not rank above northern urban Negroes in the usual tests. Klineberg reports a study which shows this change taking place. For northern born Negroes in New York he established an I.Q. of 86.9. For southern born Negroes resident one and two years in New York an I.Q. of 64; for those resident three and four years 66.9, and so on up until those resident nine, ten, and eleven

years showed an I.Q. of 84.6, almost equal to the northern born. This is, of course, well below the I.Q. of adjacent whites, but even within New York City the differences in the environment of the two races are very great.

The important studies on intelligence of pre-immigrants made in their home countries by the U. S. Department of Immigration indicate wide differences in cultural-intellectual development with north Europeans high, and the Irish and south Italians low, but they must reflect considerably the strata of society from which the immigrants from these countries are drawn.

The Army tests showed a very high rate of mental deficiency among certain immigrant groups; 7.4 per 1,000 for Russia, 6.0 for Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia, 5.8 for Poles. But in Terman's study of 1,000 gifted children in California we find several foreign groups exceeding their quota of gifted children (the Russians by 397 per cent). Neither the Army tests nor Terman's study were directed toward determining the intelligence of ethnic groups; the first probably exaggerated language and cultural differences, and the second sampled too small a population, but they are rather typical in that the results are not consistent. Most studies of ethnic groups show similar inconsistencies, and the larger ethnic distributions are on the whole unsatisfactory as regards the determination of cultural-intellectual differences.

The distribution of intelligence among regional groups is much more consistent and more significant. Certain states show a high level of intelligence by the use of mental tests among school children. The same states show a low level of mental deficiency in the Army tests, a low level of mistakes in the census, a high circulation of good magazines. By combining these

<sup>2</sup> A fairly comprehensive summary of recent work in this field can be found in *Heredity and Environment* by G. Schwesinger, Macmillan, 1933.

and other data, we have worked out an "index of cultural-intellectual development" for the various states, which is of considerable interest.

Some of the states with indices above the average level (taken as zero) are as follows:

	Index
Washington.....	+9.3
California.....	+8.9
Massachusetts.....	+8.8
Vermont.....	+5
Kansas.....	+0.8

changed since that time, both as regards some items in the index of cultural-intellectual development and still more as regards fertility, but it is not radically changed, as yet, in general character.

But the most important differences in regional groups are to be found not between states, but between rural and urban districts. Here the results are almost always consistent, the farm being below the town, the town below the city. The results of mental tests on farm and country

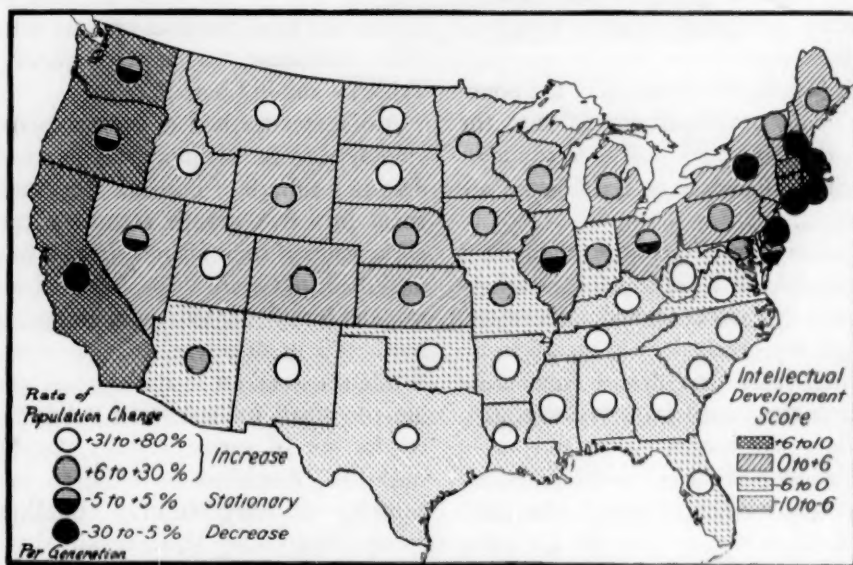


CHART III. NATURAL INCREASE OR DECREASE OF NATIVE WHITE POPULATION BY STATES IN RELATION TO COMPOSITE SCORE FOR INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT, UNITED STATES, 1920

Some of the states with indices below the average level are:

	Index
Virginia.....	-3.7
Texas.....	-6
Mississippi.....	-10.9

On the whole, the index of cultural-intellectual development bears an inverse relation to the index of fertility, as shown on Chart III in which the two figures are superimposed. This chart represents the situation reflected by Army statistics and census data of 1920. The situation has

children are perhaps the most illuminating indices. In a study of 14,000 Wisconsin school children, the average score of the children in towns under 5,000 in population was 86.6 I.Q.; in towns 5,000 to 10,000 the average I.Q. was 93.9, and in towns over 10,000, 95.9. In two counties in Illinois the median intelligence for County A was 104.3 urban, and 96.0 rural, and for County X 101.0 urban and 88.7 rural. But even more significant was the percentage under 80 I.Q., which was for County A, 2 per cent in the urban districts,

and 11 per cent in the rural, and for County X, 3 per cent in the urban districts and 22 per cent in the rural. We have cited these studies because we believe them to be typical of the large number of studies on such groups.

It must be borne in mind that we are referring here solely to measured intelligence and not to the innate or potential quality. Both in consistent differences in fertility, and in consistent differences in intelligence, the distribution of the population by regional groups would seem to offer many interesting leads to eugenical research.

But it is in the distribution of the population by occupational groups that the widest, the most consistent, and the most interesting differences in intelligence are to be found.

The Army intelligence examinations during the World War furnish comprehensive data on occupational differences. Although the conclusions in regard to innate intelligence first drawn from these tests have since been largely discredited, we believe the results still stand as an excellent index of the cultural-intellectual development level of the groups examined, and it is in that sense that we are using them here.

The range of the middle fifty per cent of men in various occupations is as follows:

Laborer, miner and barber fall in..	Group C-
Blacksmith, auto repairman and	
telephone operator.....	Group C
Construction foreman, railroad	
clerk and bookkeeper.....	Group C+
Mechanical draftsman, account-	
ant and medical officers.....	Group B
Engineering officers.....	Group A

Modern intelligence tests have been especially developed for use on children, and to school population offers convenient opportunities for testing. Numerous studies of this sort have indicated that the

test-intelligence of children follows closely the occupational grouping of their fathers.

The three largest surveys of the intelligence of elementary school children classified according to the occupation of the father are those of Dexter, Collins, and Haggerty and Nash. Dexter tested 2,782 children in Madison, Wisconsin; Collins tested 4,727 children in Ohio cities, and Haggerty and Nash 6,688 children in New York villages of less than 4,500 inhabitants. The I.Q.'s are not exactly comparable, due to the different tests used. The results in all these surveys are remarkably consistent, as appears clearly in Table IV and in Chart IV.

A different method of presentation was employed by Stokes in a study of 500 children in a suburb of Boston. He classified them into five groups according to the occupation of their fathers, from Group I, unskilled, to Group V, professional workers, and into five intelligence groups, from borderline or defective, to very superior. While the numbers in the extreme groups are too small for statistical validity, the results are of great interest. Group I, unskilled, furnished no children in the superior or very superior intelligence groups, and Group II, semi-skilled workers, had only 10.9 per cent of its children in these groups, whereas Group IV, business and clerical, and Group V, professional, had 23 per cent and 60 per cent, respectively, of their children in these groups.

These results are consistent with those of Terman in his study of 1,000 gifted children, in which the proportion of gifted children supplied by each group, compared to the proportion of each group to the total population, was as follows: Professional 1,000 per cent of their quota; public service, 150 per cent of their quota; commercial, 150 per cent; industrial (labor) 35 per cent; business executives

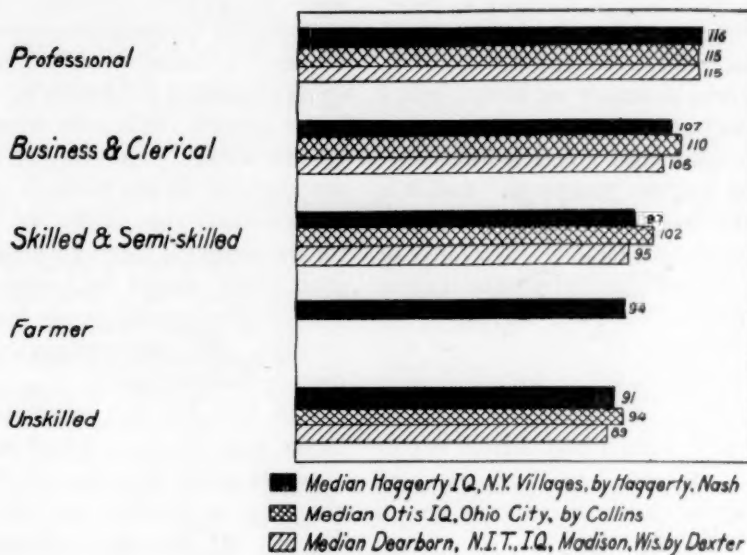


CHART IV

estimated at 1,000 per cent of their quota.

If the economic status of children selected by Terman as gifted is combined with estimated distribution of income in the population of this region, the results run as in Table VI.

TABLE IV  
14,000 SCHOOL CHILDREN, BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER

	MADI- SON	OHIO CITIES	NEW YORK VIL- LAGES
Professional.....	115	115	116
Business and clerical.....	105	110	107
Skilled and semi-skilled.....	95	102	97
Unskilled.....	89	94	91
Farmers.....			94

It is possible that the top class is not fully represented, due to the non-inclusion of private schools.

Of the three groupings which we have been considering, ethnic, regional, and occupational, the occupational groups offer the most interesting and the most

consistent differences in cultural-intellectual development. As they show also, the most striking and consistent differences in

TABLE V  
CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS

	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS*				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Number.....	19	110	159	195	25
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Very superior.....	†	2.7	5	6.1	28
Superior.....	†	8.2	14.5	16.9	32
Average.....	57.9	55.5	62.9	66.7	36
Dull.....	26.3	28.1	13.8	7.2	4
Borderline or defective.....	15.8	5.5	3.8	3.1	0

\* I: Unskilled; II: Semi-skilled workers; III: Skilled workers; IV: Business and clerical; V: Professional.

† Less than 1 per cent.

fertility, it would appear that the division of the population by occupations, offers the best classification for eugenic studies into the causes of differential fertility, and

into the relationship between cultural-intellectual development, and innate or genetic potentiality for intelligence.

In this brief summary we have touched only on the larger aspects, and have necessarily left untouched a detailed examination of the different groupings. And it is often in the details that the most interesting material is to be found. The range or variation of intelligence in a group is often more significant than the average of its intelligence; and some of the regional subdivisions of groups which are marginal in economic status, and apparently in intelligence as well, offer a particularly important field. Studies have been reported which indicate that within certain groups

TABLE VI  
PER CENT OF PARENTS AT EACH INCOME LEVEL

	PARENTS	GENERAL POPULATION	PER CENT OF QUOTA
	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>
10,000 to 15,000	8	2	400
5,500 to 10,500	19	4	475
2,500 to 5,500	38	35	105
Under 2,500	35	60	55

there may be a reversal of the usual differentials. It is to the extension of detailed and carefully controlled studies that we must look for advance.

It may appear discouraging to the eugenicist that at present we seem obliged to approach the larger population groups from the point of view of their external, phenotypic characteristics,—what we have called, with respect to intelligence, their cultural-intellectual development. The direct attack on innate potentiality for intelligence would be so much more satisfactory, if it were possible. But there are advantages in the method which we have followed. The many excellent studies which are already available do not need to be stretched to an interpretation not

intended by their authors. The subject immediately becomes less clouded by controversy. Almost everyone is ready to consider existing differences between population groups. It is only when such differences are said to be hereditary,—that is, not alterable by the methods of the environmentalist, that ill-feeling arises; and for the present it seems far better that this controversy should be restricted to the field of actual studies on the interaction of heredity and environment to produce human characteristics.

This field has seen enormous advances in the past ten years, which we have not space to touch on here, and with which the eugenicist should keep fully informed. Enough has been clearly demonstrated as to the limits imposed by heredity, to justify a thousandfold the faith of the eugenicist. He may keep in his own mind such studies as those of Miss Lawrence in England, in which foundlings in English orphan asylums, who had never seen or known their parents, showed the same trend to rank in intelligence in accordance with the occupational grouping of their parents, as do American school children, though not to the same degree. But in the consideration of our larger population groups he may for the present content himself with pointing out to the sociologist and to the social worker that there is a cultural-intellectual differential between our larger population groups; and that whatever the origin of these differences, whether they lie in heredity or in the home environment, they are handed on from one generation to another. And if these differences are associated, as they are today, with a fertility differential favoring the least well equipped, then a change in the fertility rates of our population groups must be one of the most important objects of social effort.

## THE DIFFERENTIAL RATE OF INCREASE AMONG THE SOCIAL CLASSES OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION<sup>1</sup>

FRANK W. NOTESTEIN

*Milbank Memorial Fund*

**B**EFORE undertaking a discussion of the differences in the rate of increase among the social classes, it may be well to admit that the social classes do not exist in the sense of clear-cut, accurately defined entities. Sorokin defines a social class as "the totality of the people who have a similar position in regard to occupational, economic and political status,"<sup>2</sup> but he prefers not to use the term because of its ambiguity. He also points out that as a general rule these different forms of stratification "are closely intercorrelated with each other. Usually, those who occupy the upper strata in one respect happen to be in the upper strata also in other respects and vice versa."<sup>3</sup>

It is, of course, this intercorrelation of stratification which makes it possible to use the term social class meaningfully to differentiate by a single criterion such as occupation or education, broad groups between which individuals pass and within which they differ, but which taken as wholes are differentiated sharply from one another with respect to educational, economic, occupational, and other social, and possibly biological characteristics.

It will be impossible in this discussion to approach a complete statistical answer to our problem, and to present in a neat package the present differences in the rates

of reproduction of our social classes. There are too many missing links in the chain of data. Instead, the approach will have to be the tedious one of presenting the available facts concerning those phases of the problem for which we have information, and of endeavoring to evaluate the influence of those for which our knowledge is thus far inadequate. Under this plan our first and chief concern will be the problem of differential fertility, after which we shall consider briefly that of differential mortality.

### DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY—GENERAL SURVEY

The fact of differential fertility according to social class has been clearly demonstrated in this country by many studies based on a great variety of data. The most numerous of these studies have dealt with a relatively small number of cases from highly selected upper class groups, such as college graduates and men of science. Some, notably those by Baber and Ross,<sup>4</sup> and Sydenstricker,<sup>5</sup> have dealt with relatively small samples of more diverse population groups. Others, such as those by Pearl,<sup>6</sup> and Ogburn and Tibbits,<sup>7</sup> have been indirect statistical approaches to the

<sup>4</sup> Baber and Ross. *Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation. University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, No. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Edgar Sydenstricker. *Differential Fertility According to Economic Status. Public Health Reports*, 44, No. 35, August 30, 1929, pp. 2101-2106.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond Pearl. *Differential Fertility. The Quarterly Review of Biology*, II, No. 1, March, 1927, pp. 102-118.

<sup>7</sup> W. F. Ogburn, and Clark Tibbits. *Birth Rates and Social Classes. Social Forces*, September, 1929, pp. 1-10.

<sup>1</sup> From the Division of Research, Milbank Memorial Fund. Much of the material summarized in this paper has been presented in detail in articles from the Division of Research by Edgar Sydenstricker, Katharine Berry, Clyde V. Kiser, Xarifa Sallume, and the author of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Pitirim Sorokin. *Social Mobility*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

subject, based on data for the registration area; and still others, such as those sponsored by the Milbank Memorial Fund, have utilized relatively large samples of data from the population censuses of 1900 and 1910. From all of these studies, whether the criterion under consideration was educational, economic, or occupational achievement, the broad conclusion is inescapable, that fertility and social status are, and have been for some time, inversely related.

eral applicability of the results secured to present day conditions.

It will be recalled that at the censuses of 1900 and 1910 each married woman was asked how many children she had ever borne, and how many years she had been married. These data, together with those for the age of the wife and the occupation of the husband, were collected for samples of unbroken families in which both the husband and wife were of native-white parentage, and in which neither of them

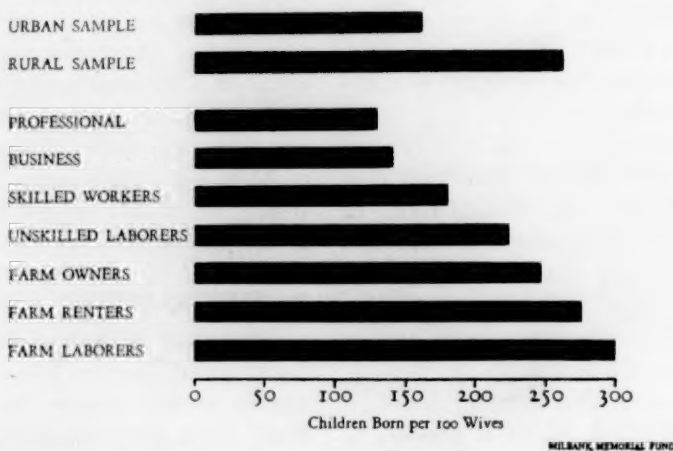


FIG. 1. TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES UNDER 45, FOR SOCIAL CLASSES OF LARGE CITIES AND RURAL AREAS IN NORTH AND WEST IN 1910

Standardized for age. For data upon which this chart is based see Edgar Sydenstricker and Frank W. Notestein. Differential fertility according to social class. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1930.

I shall depend upon the data secured by the Milbank Memorial Fund from the census schedules of 1900 and 1910 for the spade work of the discussion of differential fertility, because they afford the largest body of information bearing directly on the subject, and because more recent studies,<sup>8</sup> such as those by Pearl, Sydenstricker, and Ogburn and Tibbitts, confirm the gen-

eral applicability of the results secured to present day conditions. The samples for urban communities have been separated, on the basis of the occupation of the husband, into four broad classes, professional, business, skilled worker, and unskilled laborer, and those for the rural population into farm owner, farm renter, and farm laborer.

From these data the average number of children ever born to women in each age group at the time of enumeration, i.e., age specific cumulative birth rates, may be obtained for each social class. In order to simplify the discussion, I shall not refer to

<sup>8</sup> Edgar Sydenstricker. A study of the fertility of native white women in a rural area of Western New York. *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Milbank Memorial Fund*, January, 1932, x, No. 1. See also footnotes 6 and 7 of this article.

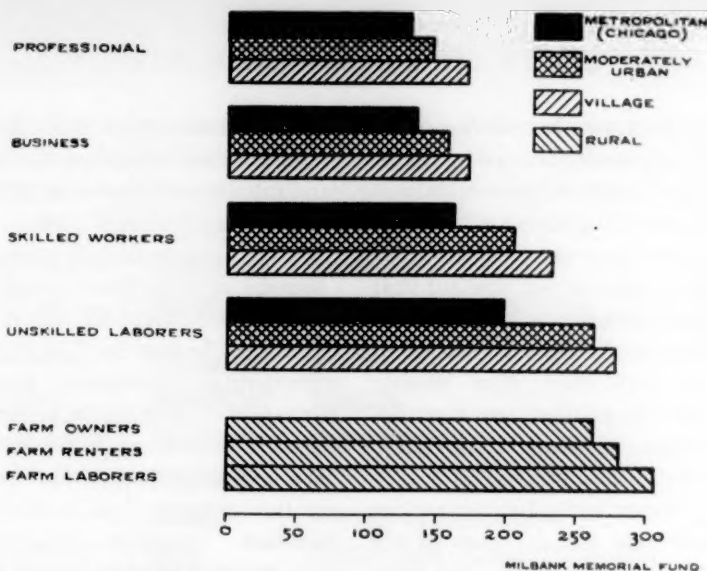


FIG. 2. TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES UNDER 45, FOR SOCIAL CLASSES OF RURAL AND THREE TYPES OF URBAN COMMUNITIES IN 1900

Standardized for age. For data upon which this chart is based see Clyde V. Kiser. Fertility of social classes in various types of communities of the East North Central States in 1900. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, December, 1932, xxvii, No. 180.

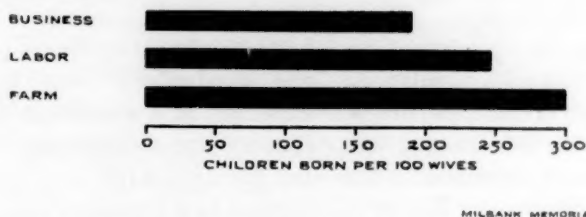


FIG. 3. TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES OF ALL AGES, FOR THE SOCIAL CLASSES OF A RURAL AREA IN CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, N. Y., 1919-1930

Standardized for age. For data upon which this chart is based see Edgar Sydenstricker. A study of the fertility of native white women in a rural area of Western New York. *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Milbank Memorial Fund*, January, 1932, x, No. 1.

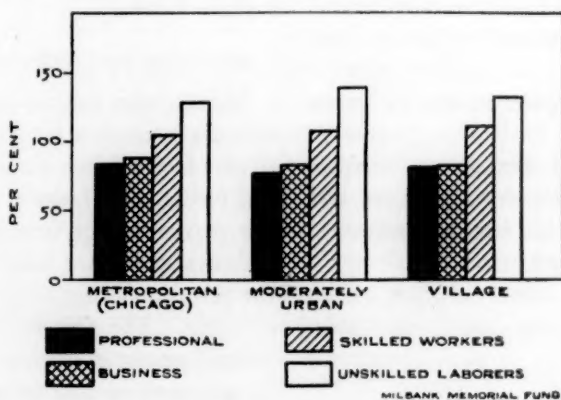


FIG. 4. SIMILARITY OF DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITIES IN 1900

The rate for each class is shown as a per cent of that for all classes in the same community. For data upon which this chart is based see Clyde V. Kiser. Fertility of social classes in various types of communities of the East North Central States in 1900. *Journal of American Statistical Association*, December, 1932, xxvii, No. 180.

these age specific rates, but shall use instead the summary form obtained by standardizing them for age. These standardized rates are not altogether satisfactory, since they present the average situation for women under 45 years of age, and not that at the end of the childbearing period, and since, by imposing the age distribution of all classes on each class, they modify somewhat the age-at-marriage distribution of each class. However, they serve well enough for present purposes.

Figure 1 presents these birth rates for the urban and rural social classes of the 1910 samples. The urban samples were drawn from the 33 northern and western cities with between 100,000 and 500,000 inhabitants in 1910, and the rural samples from the agricultural districts of 33 counties neighboring on those cities. Figure 2 gives the same data for 1900 from Chicago, and from five cities with populations ranging from 50,000 to 125,000, 48 villages with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, and the strictly rural areas of 14 counties in the East North Central States. In Figure 3, similar data secured by a field study conducted in 1929-1930 are also shown for a predominately rural community in Cattaraugus County, New York, the only difference being that the rates are not limited to women in the childbearing period when enumerated.

The following points are of some interest:

1. In each type of community, whether urban or rural, the data for 1900, 1910, and 1929-1930 indicate that fertility and social status were inversely related.

2. Fertility was lower in each urban class than in any rural class.<sup>9</sup> In Cattaraugus County (Fig. 3) non-agricultural

<sup>9</sup> The 1900 data afford two exceptions. Unskilled laborers in moderately urban communities, and in villages were not less fertile than farm owners, but they were definitely less fertile than farm laborers.

laborers drawn from a rural community and from one village with about a thousand inhabitants were definitely less fertile than the agricultural class.

3. The fertility of each urban social class observed in 1900 was highest in the villages, intermediate in the medium-sized cities and lowest in Chicago, the only metropolitan community represented in the sample. It must be remembered that selective as well as determinative factors may well help to account for the lower fertility of each class in the larger communities. Doubtless a substantial proportion of the women migrated to the cities in which they were enumerated.

4. There is a striking similarity in the relative differences of the birth rates of the classes within each type of urban community observed in 1900. This point is best brought out by Figure 4, which shows the standardized rates for each class expressed as a percentage of that for all classes in the same community. Although the birth rates for each urban class were highest in the villages and lowest in Chicago, the relative differences in the fertility of the classes were much the same in villages with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants as they were in Chicago with its one and a half millions.

#### CHILDLESS AND VERY LARGE FAMILIES

Women who bear no children and those who are mothers of large families are of particular interest in a discussion of differential fertility. Figure 5 and Table I give the percentage of women in each urban and rural class that had borne no child and the percentage that had borne five or more children. The families considered were virtually complete, since the wives were 40 to 49 years of age when enumerated in 1910.

There were marked differences between the urban and rural samples in both cases.

About 16 per cent of the urban wives were childless, while only 9 per cent of the rural wives had not borne at least one child.

from the farm owner class with 10 per cent to the farm renter and farm laborer classes with only about 7 per cent. Childlessness

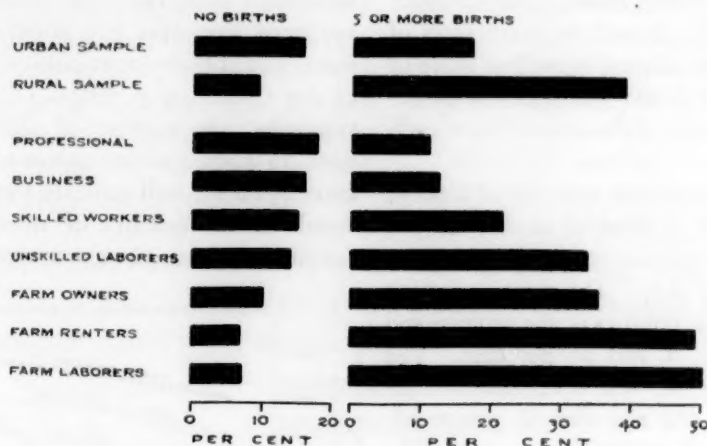


FIG. 5. PER CENT OF WIVES WHO HAD BORNE NO CHILD AND PER CENT WHO HAD BORNE FIVE OR MORE CHILDREN, FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL CLASSES

The data are for women aged 40 to 49 in 1910. See Table I

TABLE I

PER CENT OF WIVES WHO HAD BORNE NO CHILD AND PER CENT WHO HAD BORNE FIVE OR MORE CHILDREN, FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL CLASSES

The data are for women 40 to 49 in 1910

SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND	WIVES 40 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE	PER CENT WHICH HAD BORNE	
		No child	5 or more children
Urban sample (adjusted)...	10,215	15.7	16.9
Professional.....	2,368	17.7	10.9
Business.....	5,302	16.0	12.4
Skilled workers.....	3,305	15.1	21.5
Unskilled laborers.....	819	14.0	33.6
Rural sample.....	9,107	9.2	39.0
Farm owners.....	6,690	10.1	35.2
Farm renters.....	1,859	6.8	49.2
Farm laborers.....	558	7.0	50.2

Within both the urban and rural samples the percentage of the childless decreased as we go down the social scale, from the professional class with nearly 18 per cent to the unskilled class with 14 per cent; and

was more than two and a half times as prevalent in the professional class as in the farm laborer class.

As would be expected the reverse of this situation is found in the proportion of women who bore five or more children. In the urban sample the proportion was 17 per cent, and in the rural sample it was 39 per cent, or more than twice as large. Within both the urban and rural populations the proportions of large families were lowest in the upper and highest in the lower classes. Mothers of five or more children constituted only one-tenth of the professional class, but about one-third of the unskilled laborer class; a little more than one-third of the farm owner class, but about one-half of the farm renter and farm laborer classes.

#### TRENDS IN DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

Thus far we have seen that fertility and social status are and have been inversely related at least since 1900. But what have

been the trends in this relationship? Kiser<sup>10</sup> has compared the 1900 data with those for 1910 which were drawn from the East North Central States, and concludes that during the decade the birth rates of the rural social classes, as well as those of the professional and business classes became more clearly differentiated from each other.

Ogburn, comparing the size of family, instead of the number of births, for the 1900 sample with that for comparable 1930 samples, finds that: "The greatest decline was among the families of the professional group, where it was 10 per cent. The proprietary group was next with a 6 per cent decline and the clerical group followed with a decrease of 5 per cent. The families of the skilled and semi-skilled workers showed a decrease of 3 per cent, while those of the unskilled decreased by 1 per cent. The families of the farm owners also decreased 1 per cent, but the families of the farm renters and of the farm laborers increased, the former by 5 per cent and the latter by 13 per cent. Among families with wives in the same age group, 35 to 39 years, the families of the farm owners and of the farm renters declined somewhat in average size, although the farm laborers did not follow this trend."<sup>11</sup>

While the size of unbroken families may be affected by other factors than the birth rate, these changes probably indicate that between 1900 and the present, fertility has declined more rapidly in the upper classes than in the lower.

The data collected for 1910 permit us to examine earlier trends in fertility, if we

<sup>10</sup> Clyde V. Kiser. Trends in the fertility of social classes from 1900 to 1910. *Human Biology*, May, 1933, v, No. 2.

<sup>11</sup> William F. Ogburn with the assistance of Clark Tibbits. *The Family and Its Functions*. Chapter XIII, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, ii, p. 686.

may assume that the fertility reported for the relatively few marriages which survived the hazards of death, divorce and separation until the wife had attained an advanced age, was not widely different from that of their entire cohort at the end of the childbearing period. On this assumption, the number of children ever born, to women whose ages in 1910 ranged from 45 to 85, will indicate the nature of trends in the fertility of women whose families were completed between 1870 and

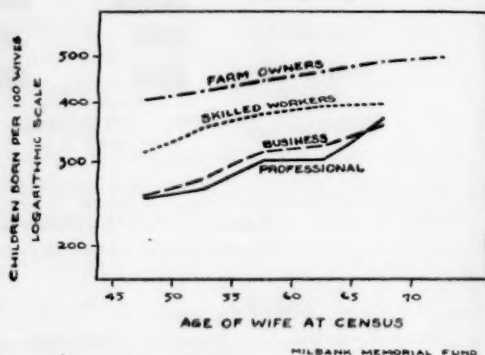


FIG. 6. TREND IN DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY PRIOR TO 1910, AS INDICATED BY THE TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES OVER 45 IN 1910

For data upon which this chart is based see Frank W. Notestein. The relation of social status to the fertility of native-born married women in the United States. *Problems of Population*, edited by G. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, Honorary General Secretary, International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems, London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1932, pp. 147-169.

1910. Figure 6 shows these birth rates for the professional, business, and skilled worker classes of the urban population and for the farm owner class. The remaining groups were represented by too few cases in the advanced ages to yield reliable data. From these rates it appears probable that the average number of children born in the farm owner class declined between 1870, when the oldest women had completed their families, and 1910. The urban sample included too few women over 70 years of age to yield trustworthy rates,

but for urban women whose childbearing period was completed between 1885 and 1910 the size of family appears to have declined even more rapidly. The dwindling size of completed families in each class probably reflects declines in annual birth rates which go back well into the past century, and which tended to increase the differences between the fertility of, at least, the upper urban and the rural classes.

#### DIFFERENTIAL AGE AT MARRIAGE

Marriage age is an important factor in determining the fertility of any population

This rather narrow difference was due to the fact that the wives of farm owners, who dominate the rural sample, married later than the women in the two lowest urban classes. However, within both the urban and rural samples the age at marriage varied directly with social status.

#### FERTILITY AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

That such differences in marriage age help to account for differences in the fertility of the social classes may be seen from Figure 8 and Table II, which show for each of the classes the number of chil-

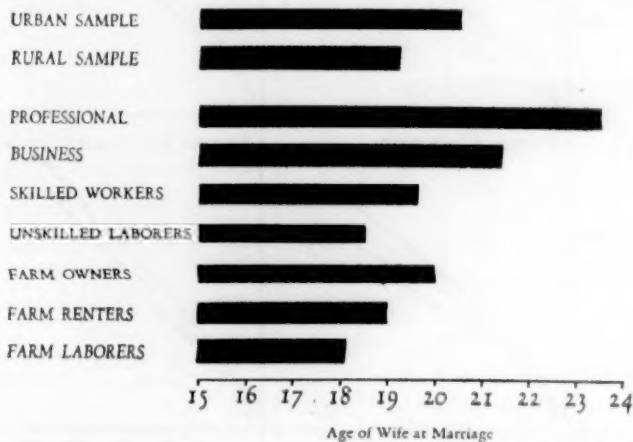


FIG. 7. MODAL AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN IN EACH URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL CLASS

The data are for marriages contracted between 1900 and 1905 at ages under 40, by women enumerated in 1910. For data upon which this chart is based see Frank W. Notestein. Differential age at marriage according to social class. *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1931, xxxvii, No. 1.

group, since it limits the length of exposure to the risk of childbirth and determines the age during which that exposure takes place. Figure 7 shows the modal ages at marriage for the wives of the 1910 urban and rural social classes, whose marriages were contracted between 1900 and 1905. The typical woman in the professional class married five years later than her counterpart in the farm laborer class, but the most popular age for marriage in the entire urban sample was only 1.3 years higher than that in the rural sample.

dren ever born per 100 wives of specified age at marriage and duration of marriage. In interpreting these rates it should be remembered that the data refer to women of different marriage durations in 1910, so that the rise of the curves to the right may be influenced both by the differences in the length of the marriage, and by a secular trend in the birth rate.

No small part of the influence of late marriage in reducing fertility arises from the resulting limitation of the length of exposure to the risk of childbirth. But

this was not all. In an equal number of years of married life, those who married early bore more children than those who married late. For example, among

to 197 for those contracted between 30 and 35 years of age.

In the professional class, however, age at marriage seemed to make little differ-

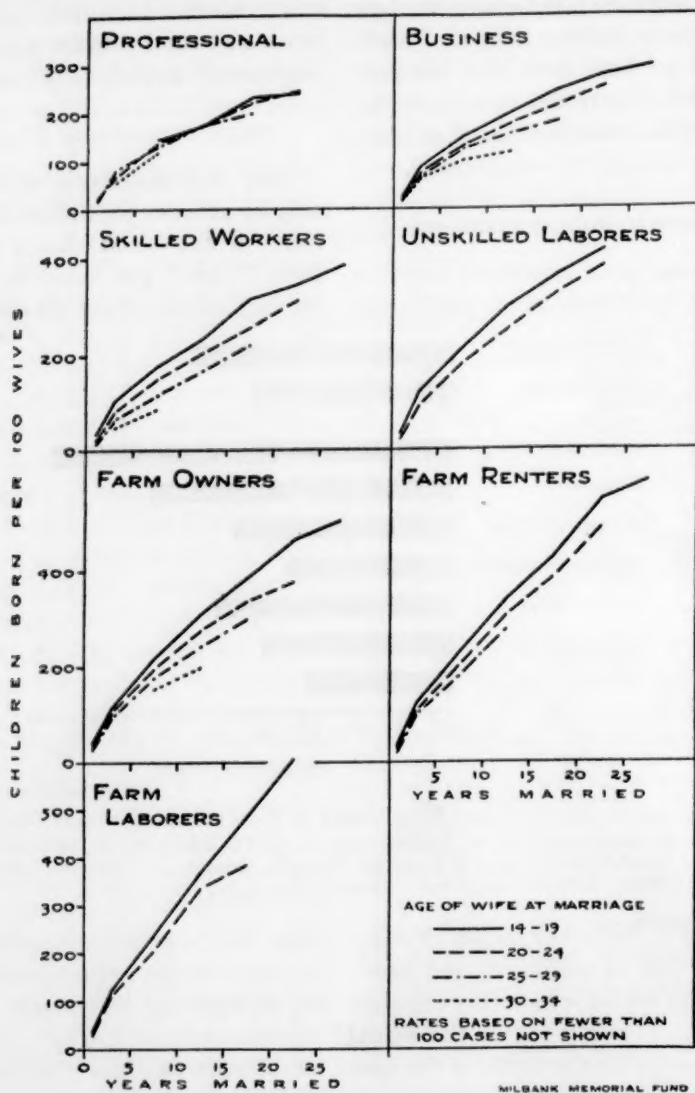


FIG. 8. TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES, BY AGE AT, AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE, FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL CLASSES

The data are for women under 45 in 1910. See Table II

women of the farm owner class who had been married from 10 to 15 years in 1910, the birth rate dropped progressively from 309 for marriages contracted under twenty,

ence in the number of children born to women who had been married an equal number of years. This does not mean that women of that class who married young

# DIFFERENTIAL RATE OF INCREASE

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TABLE II

TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES BY AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE FOR URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL CLASSES IN 1910

The data are for women under 45 years of age. The rates for all durations are standardized—the standard being the combined urban and rural samples. For number of cases on which the rates are based see Table III.

AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE	TOTAL CHILDREN BORN PER 100 WIVES						
	Professional	Business	Skilled workers	Unskilled laborers	Farm owners	Farm renters	Farm laborers
All ages and durations (standardized).....	151	152	178	213	233	258	277
14 to 19:							
All durations (standardized).....	171	184	226	270	288	318	353
0 to 1.....		24	33	32	38	31	34
2 to 4.....		88	103	119	116	117	124
5 to 9.....	145	152	176	209	218	224	237
10 to 14.....	176	198	234	297	309	337	369
15 to 19.....	231	245	314	361	387	428	484
20 to 24.....	241	278	342	413	464	544	606
25 to 30.....		295	384		503	586	
10 to 24:							
All durations (standardized).....	148	146	170	206	221	248	253
0 to 1.....	21	18	21	20	30	26	29
2 to 4.....	71	73	79	90	106	107	111
5 to 9.....	139	132	149	177	194	198	206
10 to 14.....	179	176	204	250	273	304	335
15 to 19.....	221	213	256	320	337	384	384
20 to 24.....	243	255	311	381	375	488	
15 to 29:							
All durations (standardized).....	127	115	119	128	173	186	211
0 to 1.....	16	15	14		23	16	
2 to 4.....	81	68	63		93	96	
5 to 9.....	132	125	117	128	178	179	219
10 to 14.....	179	155	168		242	274	
15 to 19.....	200	181	219		300		
20 to 34:							
All durations (standardized).....	95	81	72		126	122	
0 to 1.....		15					
2 to 4.....	56	65	48				
5 to 9.....	118	99	86		152		
10 to 14.....		115			197		
35 to 44:							
All durations (standardized).....		43	43		49		

bore no more children than those who married later in life. They bore more, because of their longer exposure. But they did not have them more rapidly—a fact which suggests that in the young marriages of

the professional class fertility was purposely and effectively controlled even prior to 1910.

Differences in marriage age alone do not account for the differences in the fertility

TABLE III

WIVES UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE BY AGE AT MARRIAGE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE, FOR THE SOCIAL CLASSES OF URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN 1910

(See Table II)

AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE	NUMBER OF WIVES						
	Professional	Business	Skilled workers	Unskilled laborers	Farm owners	Farm renters	Farm laborers
All ages and durations.....	6,827	17,475	14,354	3,100	13,770	9,912	4,182
14 to 19:							
All durations.....	899	4,120	5,450	1,438	5,170	4,383	2,261
0 to 1.....	37	250	425	141	138	389	337
2 to 4.....	98	553	904	272	346	745	534
5 to 9.....	156	874	1,344	349	849	1,129	581
10 to 14.....	172	736	1,028	227	971	807	382
15 to 19.....	162	676	781	195	1,136	629	225
20 to 24.....	208	739	676	176	1,154	509	156
25 to 30.....	66	292	292	78	513	175	46
20 to 24:							
All durations.....	3,221	8,937	6,490	1,183	6,325	4,315	1,495
0 to 1.....	300	857	711	137	262	517	276
2 to 4.....	556	1,761	1,332	240	660	885	340
5 to 9.....	807	2,156	1,823	321	1,301	1,162	400
10 to 14.....	667	1,739	1,195	204	1,543	869	231
15 to 19.....	591	1,575	881	173	1,497	571	164
20 to 24.....	300	849	548	108	1,062	311	84
25 to 29:							
All durations.....	2,165	3,539	1,860	356	1,812	994	333
0 to 1.....	261	415	243	36	126	153	62
2 to 4.....	467	779	469	82	234	226	73
5 to 9.....	688	1,095	586	122	516	324	105
10 to 14.....	504	814	384	75	584	194	61
15 to 19.....	245	436	178	41	352	97	32
30 to 34:							
All durations.....	455	725	435	87	423	183	78
0 to 1.....	68	103	64	6	36	30	18
2 to 4.....	135	224	130	30	82	48	21
5 to 9.....	180	281	172	38	175	83	24
10 to 14.....	72	117	69	13	130	22	15
35 to 44:							
All durations.....	87	154	119	36	103	37	15

of the social classes. This may be seen in Figure 9 and Table II which give the birth rate for each age-at-marriage group standardized for duration of marriage, so that, for any one age-at-marriage group, each

social class has the same duration of marriage. Marriages which took place before the wife's twentieth year exhibited a strong inverse association between fertility and social status in both urban and

rural areas. Among women who married between 20 and 25 this same relationship continued, except that the differences between the professional and business classes disappeared. But for marriages contracted between 25 and 30, the differences in the fertility of the urban classes disappeared, and the rates for this and the next higher group suggest a direct rather than

the fact that the upper-class birth rates were relatively high for women whose late marriages offered slight inducement to family limitation, and relatively low for those whose early and perhaps impecunious marriages made family limitation most desirable, suggests that for early marriages fertility was increasingly subject to control as social status rose.

The fact that for marriages over 25 there was a tendency for the upper classes to be more fertile than the lower suggests also that marriage is a selective process which operates differently in the different social classes. It is possible that in all classes there is a tendency for the most fecund women to marry earliest, but that this tendency is more inhibited in the upper than lower classes because of intellectual interests or the maintenance of a higher standard of living.

#### CHILDLESSNESS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

We have already seen that the proportion of childless married women was highest in the upper classes of both the urban and rural populations in 1910. Do these differences remain when the comparison is limited to marriages contracted at about the same age? The answer may be had by examining the data for women who had been married fifteen or more years in 1910, but whose marriages were contracted in three different age groups, under 20, 20 to 24, and 25 to 29. Figure 10 and Table IV give for each of these groups the proportion of women in each social class who had borne no children.

Among women who married under 20 years of age, childlessness was much higher in the upper than in the lower classes of both the urban and rural populations. For marriages which occurred between 20 and 25, or between 25 and 30 years, the relationship was quite changed. There were virtually no differences in the

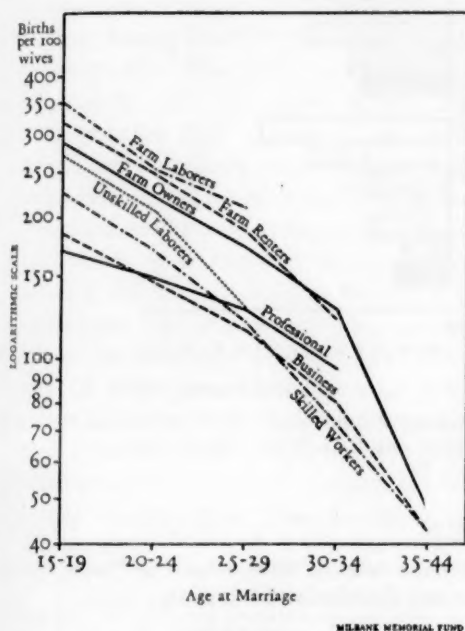


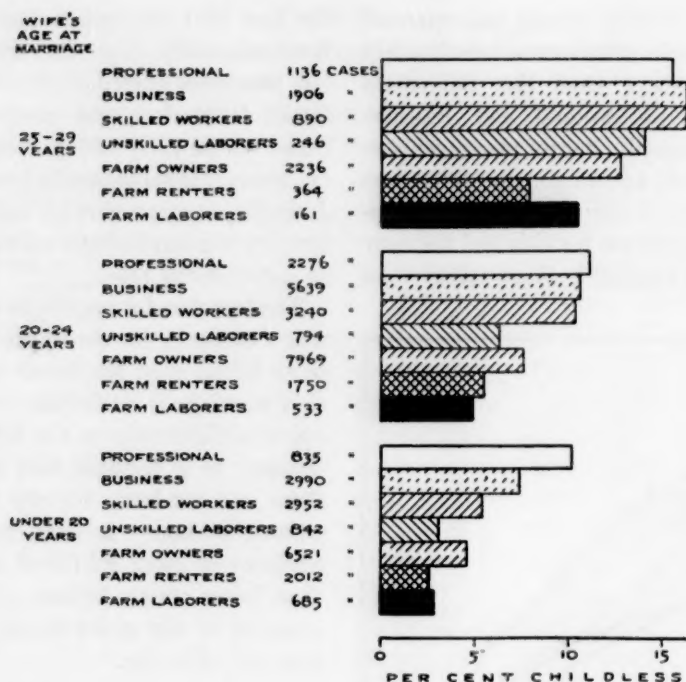
FIG. 9. TOTAL BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES BY AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL CLASSES

The data are for women under 45 in 1910. Each marriage age group has been standardized for duration of marriage. See Table II.

an inverse relation to social status at least in the urban population.

The cause of this shift from an inverse to a direct association between fertility and social status as marriage age advances cannot be determined from our data. Probably a number of factors were involved. As pointed out in the English Census Report, "Fertility of Marriage,"<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Census of England and Wales, 1911, vol. xiii.



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FIG. 10. PER CENT OF CHILDLESSNESS AMONG WOMEN MARRIED FIFTEEN YEARS OR MORE IN 1910, FOR THREE AGE-AT-MARRIAGE GROUPS OF EACH URBAN AND EACH RURAL SOCIAL CLASS (See Table IV)

TABLE IV

PER CENT OF CHILDLESSNESS AMONG WOMEN MARRIED FIFTEEN YEARS OR MORE IN 1910, FOR THREE AGE-AT-MARRIAGE GROUPS OF EACH URBAN AND EACH RURAL SOCIAL CLASS

PER CENT OF WIVES CHILDLESS, AND WOMEN MARRIED 15 OR MORE YEARS, BY AGE AT MARRIAGE	PROFES- SIONAL	BUSINESS	SKILLED WORKERS	UN- SKILLED LABORERS	FARM OWNERS	FARM RENTERS	FARM LABORERS
Per cent of wives childless:							
Under 20.....	10.2	7.4	5.4	3.1	4.6	2.6	2.8
20 to 24.....	11.2	10.7	10.4	6.3	7.6	5.5	4.9
25 to 29.....	15.6	16.3	16.3	14.2	12.9	8.0	10.6
Women married 15 or more years:							
Under 20.....	835	2,990	2,952	842	6,521	2,012	685
20 to 24.....	2,276	5,639	3,240	794	7,969	1,750	533
25 to 29.....	1,136	1,906	890	246	2,236	364	161

proportions of childless women in the professional, business, and skilled worker classes. In the unskilled class, however, the proportions remained somewhat lower than in the other urban classes, at least for

marriages contracted between 20 and 25 years of age. In the rural population, childless women were more common in the farm owner class than in the farm renter or laborer class for marriages con-

tracted before age 25. For later marriages the number of cases is too small to give much significance to the results. The differences between the ratios for the farm owner and unskilled laborer classes may also be unreliable, but those between the farm owners and the three upper urban classes indicate that women who had borne no children were definitely less common in the farm owner than in the three upper urban classes.

The absence of differentiation in the proportions of childlessness found among the women of the three upper urban classes who married after 20 years of age, makes it difficult to believe that the sharp differentials observed for marriages which took place before the wife's twentieth year were the result of differential sterility. Why should differential sterility be found for marriages contracted under 20, and not found for those contracted between 20 and 30? A more plausible hypothesis would seem to be that among women who married under 20 years of age, the proportion who purposely avoided parenthood was larger in the upper than in the lower classes.

BROKEN FAMILIES AND DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

Thus far we have been considering only the fertility of unbroken families. It is possible that varying proportions of broken families, with their low fertility, modify the differences in the fertility of the classes. Bruno,<sup>13</sup> summarizing the experience of policy holders in twelve insurance companies during 1915-1916, found that the mortality rates of the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled were respectively 112, 136, and 145 in terms of the "professional and semiprofessional class"

<sup>13</sup> Frank J. Bruno. *Illness and Dependency. The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Miscellaneous Contribution No. 9, Washington, D. C., 1931.*

as 100. Adult mortality, therefore, by creating differences in the proportion of broken families tends to lessen the differences in the fertility of the classes, but since the years between marriage and the end of the childbearing period are ones of relatively low mortality, this factor is not of the first consequence.

Virtually nothing is known of the effect of divorce and separation on differential fertility. The expense of securing divorces may make them less common in the lower than in the upper classes, but we do not know whether or not these differences, if they exist, are compensated by differences in the frequency of desertion and other separations. At present it is impossible to evaluate the influence of these factors on differential fertility.

Probably the differentials observed for the married population are also modified by differences in the proportion of persons in the various classes who ever marry. Again the subject is one upon which there is no direct evidence. It seems reasonable to assume that the early marrying classes are also the classes in which the largest proportion of persons marry at some time. If this is the case, a larger proportion of the lower than of the upper classes marry, and such differences would strengthen the inverse relation of fertility and social status observed in the married population.

DIFFERENTIAL MORTALITY

The proportion of offspring which survive to marriageable age, is also a factor in the differential rate of increase among the social classes. The relationship between social status and mortality in the younger ages is indicated by the infant death rates. From the wealth of statistical material dealing with this subject, that given by Green<sup>14</sup> in his recent survey of Cleveland,

<sup>14</sup> Howard Whipple Green. *Infant Mortality and Economic Status in Cleveland's Five-City Area.*

has been selected to illustrate the relationship. The 252 census tracts in "greater Cleveland" were allocated to "equivalent monthly rental" groups on the basis of census returns for 1930, and the infant

under one month, and from one to eleven months. Deaths under one month varied from 44 per 1,000 births in the lowest rent area to 32 in the next to highest, and 15 in the highest. Apart from the rate for the

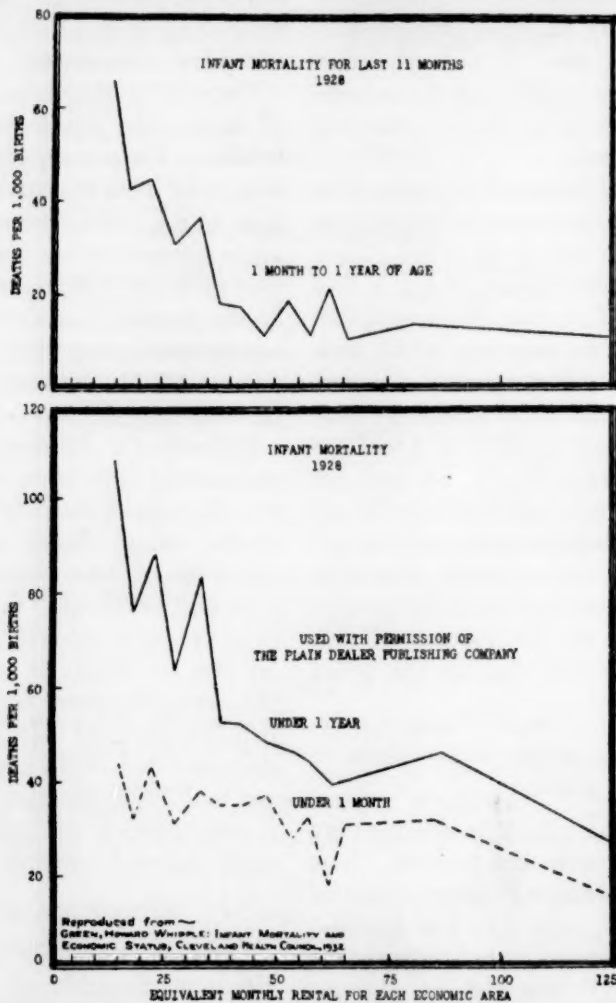


FIG. 11. INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR "EQUIVALENT MONTHLY RENTAL" AREAS IN CLEVELAND, 1928

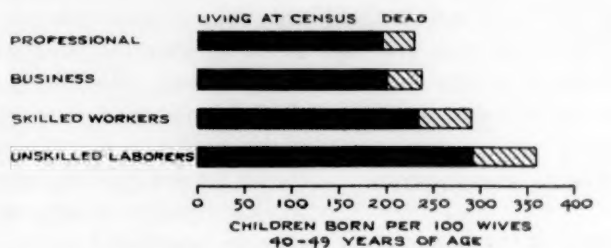
mortality for 1928 computed for each group. Figure 11, which is reproduced from Green's report, gives, in addition to the total infant mortality, that for ages

highest rent area, which apparently is untrustworthy, the association of economic status and that part of infant mortality which is least affected by environmental conditions is not strong. Quite the opposite situation appears in the mortality of the last eleven months of the first

Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland, Ohio, 1932, pp. 2 and 5.

year. For the lowest rent area the death rate was 66. This decreased rapidly to under 20 for areas with equivalent monthly rentals of between 35 and 40 dollars, but after that showed little change. The inverse association of mortality and economic status in the ages most affected by environmental conditions, is strong, but

factors. However, "the relationship between low earnings and infant mortality was found to be independent of type of feeding, of nationality, and of the factors involved in frequency of birth. . . . The study of the chain of causation connecting low income with high mortality showed the direct relation between lack of means



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FIG. 12. TOTAL CHILDREN BORN, DEATHS, AND CHILDREN STILL LIVING PER 100 WIVES AGED 40 TO 49 IN 1910, FOR URBAN SOCIAL CLASSES (See Table V)

TABLE V

TOTAL BIRTHS, AND CHILDREN LIVING PER 100 WIVES, AND CHILDREN DEAD PER 100 BIRTHS, FOR WOMEN 40 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH URBAN SOCIAL CLASS IN 1910

SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND	WIVES 40 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE	BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES	CHILDREN LIVING PER 100 WIVES	DEATHS PER 100 WIVES
Professional.....	2,368	229	195	14.8
Business.....	5,302	237	200	15.6
Skilled workers.....	3,305	290	234	19.3
Unskilled laborers.....	819	364	292	19.8

largely confined to the lower part of the economic scale.

The extensive studies of the association of infant mortality and economic status conducted by the United States Children's Bureau have shown that the relationship is far from simple. It is accounted for in some part by such factors as the age and nativity of the mother, the order of birth, the intervals between births and other

and the care available both for the mother during pregnancy and confinement and for the baby during the first year."<sup>15</sup>

The influence of a lower survival rate for children in the lower classes is not sufficient to modify greatly the rapid rate of increase of these classes. This fact is illustrated by Figure 12 and Table V, which give the number of children ever born, the number who died, and the number still living at the time of the census, for women of the 1910 urban classes who were between forty and fifty years of age when enumerated. The rates present the situation for virtually completed families in which almost all of the children had passed the age of high mortality. The numbers of cases considered are not sufficiently large to warrant close interpretation, but they are large enough to make it clear that the differences in mortality of

<sup>15</sup> Causal Factors in Infant Mortality. United States Children's Bureau, *Publication No. 142*, Washington, D. C., 1925, p. 164.

the classes did not begin to counterbalance their differences in fertility. For example, the birth rate for the unskilled laborer class exceeded that of the professional class by 59 per cent. This difference was reduced only to 50 per cent for the average number of children still living. Since the beginning of the century, there has been a spectacular drop in the infant mortality rate, but this only limits still further the influence of differential mortality in reducing the differences in the rate of increase among our social classes.

#### DIFFERENTIAL RATE OF REPRODUCTION

No attempt to assemble the data relating to the fertility and mortality of the social classes in terms of the rate of reproduction has come to my attention. However, Dr. Frank Lorimer, of the Eugenics Research Association, has estimated relative reproduction values for specific occupations by an ingenious use of the registration data relating to the number of children ever born and the number of children living reported by mothers of new-born infants in 1928. Since the rate of reproduction of the total non-farm population is shown by other data to be just about sufficient to supply equal permanent replacement of the population, he expresses the reproduction value for each occupation as a percentage of that for all non-agricultural occupations, thereby securing an index of reproduction. Dr. Lorimer feels that his results have merely provisional value in the absence of more accurate recent statistics. His study is not complete, but he has generously permitted me to refer to his results.

The indices have been computed for specific occupations but not for the broad classes with which we have been dealing. However, a ranking of the constituent occupations of each broad class according to his indices indicates that neither the

professional nor the business classes were reproducing rapidly enough to supply equal permanent replacement. In the professional class no index exceeded 76 except that for clergymen which was 98. In the business class all indices were under 90 except seven. On the other hand, in the skilled worker class, the median index was about 100, in the unskilled laborer class only four indices were less than 100, and in the agricultural population all indices exceeded 100. No close interpretation of these provisional data is required to arrive at the conclusion that the two white collar classes are not reproducing rapidly enough to yield equal permanent replacement, and that the unskilled laborer class is the only urban class with a rate of reproduction well above that required for such replacement.

#### SUMMARY

The situation in regard to the differential rate of increase among our social classes particularly as exhibited by the native white northern population may be summarized as follows:

1. The lower classes increase more rapidly than the upper in each type of urban community and in rural areas. The rural classes increase more rapidly than the urban, and each urban class increases more rapidly in small than in large communities.
2. Probably this more rapid increase in the lower than in the upper classes goes back well into the nineteenth century, and apparently the differences were becoming larger prior to 1900 and between 1900 and the present.
3. The differences arise partly from differences in marriage age and, possibly, in the proportion of those who marry, but they are also the result of differences in fertility which are independent of these factors. There is evidence which suggests

that they were in some measure attributable to the greater prevalence of purposive control of fertility in the upper than in the lower classes even prior to 1910.

4. The differences in the rates of increase are somewhat modified by the high mortality rates of both adults and children which are characteristic of the lower classes, but the influence of this factor is not sufficiently large to overcome that of

differential fertility in bringing about the inverse relation between the rate of reproduction and social status.

5. At present the white collar classes are not reproducing rapidly enough to maintain equal permanent replacement, but the unskilled laborer class and the agricultural population appear to be reproducing more rapidly than is required to maintain their numbers.

## IS THE DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY OF THE SOCIAL CLASSES SELECTIVE?

FRANK H. HANKINS

*Smith College*

THE differential fertility of the social classes seems to be a well-established fact. Dr. Notestein's clear and painstaking studies ought to convince any doubting Thomases there may still be. Much other evidence in support of such a conclusion comes from all western nations. This evidence is varied and presents the situation from a number of different angles. Moreover, the phenomenon is by no means new. In his study of 1906, David Heron<sup>1</sup> correlated the birth-rate for different types of residential areas with such marks of social rank as percentage of men employed in the professions, or as general laborers, or as pawn brokers, the number of female servants per 100 females or per 100 families, the infant death-rate, the percentage of child laborers, the percentage of paupers, etc. He attempted to carry his comparison on many points back to 1851 and concluded that, according to conventional standards of valuation, there was no desirable social trait which correlated posi-

tively with the birth-rate, and that the intensity of the correlation between undesirable social characteristics and the birth-rate had about doubled between 1851 and 1901. More recently, Stevenson<sup>2</sup> on the basis of 1911 census material for England and Wales was able to carry the comparison back to the same date (1851) and likewise concluded that the differential fertility of the classes was manifesting itself as early as 1851 and had considerably increased by 1911. He advanced the opinion that about twenty years earlier, that is, about 1830, the differential would have been found non-existent.

However this may be, there is some evidence that a century ago the upper classes, at least in England, were reproducing rather freely. The Whethams<sup>3</sup> found the average number of offspring among the English aristocracy to exceed that of the

<sup>1</sup> David Heron, "On the relation of fertility in man to social status, etc.," *Studies in National Degeneration*, I, London, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> T. H. C. Stevenson, "The fertility of various social classes in England and Wales from the middle of the nineteenth century to 1911," *Jour. Roy. Stat. Soc.*, 83, 1920, 401-432.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham, *The Family and the Nation*, London, 1909.

population in general. John Stuart Mill, referring to the aristocracy and the clergy, noted that, "Whatever the limit to the increase of population among the richer classes in Great Britain may be, it certainly is not the small number of births to a marriage."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, in the 60's, Greg and Galton first called attention to the differential fertility of the classes and emphasized the dangers to race quality if the prudent abstained from reproduction while the imprudent multiplied recklessly. Darwin, in 1871, inclined to acceptance of this view but took pains to point out countervailing circumstances. He noted that the able and vigorous are more likely to marry and rear their offspring to maturity, whereas the reckless and vicious are restrained by diseases, imprisonment, executions, and high mortality.

Since then studies of differential fertility have been numerous. The social selectionists of France and Germany constructed elaborate theories of population replenishment, combining eugenic considerations with doctrines of innate Teutonic Aryan superiority, which are just now very active in the latter country. Hansen's theory, promulgated in 1890, of the reversed selective action of urbanism is still useful. One of the obvious difficulties in all such investigations has been the indefiniteness of social classes in a democratic society. This is plainly a real difficulty, because whatever classification is made is necessarily a rough one, including within each category extremely diverse elements. This would mean that there is a great deal of overlapping of both the hereditary and the environmental factors included in any hierarchical arrangement of the classes. Nevertheless, so uniformly consistent are the findings, regardless of the criterion of social status, that one

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Jas. Field, *Essays on Population*, Chicago, 1931, p. 62.

seems clearly warranted in holding that the differential fertility is a real phenomenon. Whether social status is ranked by occupation according to a hierarchy which commends itself to conventional standards of judgment, or by income, by education of the parents, by taxes paid, by type of residential district, or by characteristics of the home maintained, differential fertility manifests itself.<sup>5</sup>

This by no means, however, settles the question whether differential fertility is truly selective as regards population quality. In order that it be selective it must be demonstrated that differences of net fertility are associated with inherent biological differences. If the population is of uniform quality from top to bottom there is no selection, regardless of differences in the birth-rates and death-rates. If, however, biological quality grades downward from the upper to the lower strata, then selection would occur (1) either in consequence of differences in the net fertility of marriage (that is, live births minus deaths before reproductive age), or (2) differences in the proportion who marry or remain celibate, or (3) differences in length of a generation, or (4) all three of these conditions working in conjunction. Galton long ago pointed to the great differences in the contributions to be made to the future racial composition by stocks having three, four, or five generations, in a hundred years. The conditions, therefore, which would prove most definitely selective would be, first, that the upper classes are biologically of superior social worth, however this worth may be measured; secondly, that the net size of their families should be less than

<sup>5</sup> Reference is here made to such studies as those by Miss Elderton, D. C. Jones, H. W. Methorst, R. E. Baber and E. A. Ross, E. Huntington and L. F. Whitney, H. E. G. Sutherland and G. H. Thomson, W. W. Clark, and others.

that of the lower classes; thirdly, that more of them should fail to marry, and fourthly, that their average age of marriage should be greater, thus giving a longer span between generations. I think it is possible to say in the light of present knowledge that in this country as in England, at least, all of these conditions are fulfilled.

Moreover, the intensity of the selective action of differential fertility is increased by assortative mating. The complete homogeneity of the population from top to bottom could be maintained only by a universal panmixia. There is, however, a very clearly demonstrated tendency for like to mate with like. People tend strongly to marry within the limits of their social class. Fisher<sup>6</sup> suggests that "The social class of an individual or family shall be defined by the aggregate of persons or families, intermarriage with whom shall encounter no social obstacles." True, the marks of social class are usually cultural rather than biological, while assortative mating means the mating of persons genetically similar. Of course, so far as certain marks of cultural similarity, such as educational attainment, income level or vocational status, are dependent in part on inherent capacities, a degree of biological similarity must exist among persons of similar cultural attainment. When investigated by the correlation technique a considerable degree of similarity is found between husbands and wives in such traits as stature, hair color, eye color, and intelligence level. We doubtless need much more knowledge of the extent of homogamy, but it is evident that so far as it exists, it serves to divide the population into differing biological strata. This intensifies the deleterious selective action of the inverse correlation

of birth-rate and social status; on the other hand, it tends to segregate the obviously defective and deficient elements on the lower levels.

The main question is whether there are measurable differences in the biological quality of the social classes. Such differences could be measured in at least two ways—in terms of physical traits or in terms of mental traits. A multitude of researches bear on both aspects. In the social selectionist literature of thirty and forty years ago, represented by Niceforo's *Les Classes Pauvres*, considerable evidence was brought together suggesting that the upper classes were taller, heavier, stronger, healthier, and freer from physical defects than the lower classes and that this was true of both adults and children. On the whole this evidence has not been controverted; it has, in fact, been sustained by the overwhelming weight of a multitude of statistical studies.<sup>7</sup> While differences apparently do exist, they do not always seem imposing and might, without much stretch of imagination, be explained in large part as due to the cumulative effects of environmental influences. Moreover, the evidence is in some respects conflicting. The British war anthropological data showed that the miners and agricultural laborers excelled other elements of the British population in physique.

When we turn, however, to mental differences the evidence is much clearer. While there seems to be no physical trait which is consistently and highly correlated with mental development, there is abundant evidence that mental ability is correlated with social class. Here again it makes little difference how social class is measured. One may use any of the criteria mentioned above, such as occupation, income, and education, as measures of

<sup>6</sup> R. A. Fisher, *The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection*, London, 1931, p. 211.

<sup>7</sup> For summary, see P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York, 1927, pp. 215-279.

social status, and one can test the mental ability either by any one of a number of generally accepted mental tests, by school grades, rate of advancement through the educational machine or otherwise.

One may make a direct assault on the question whether the intelligence of parents is associated with their fertility, as in studies by Lentz, Clark, Sutherland and Thomson, and others. In this case the intelligence of the parents is rated by mental tests or by one or other of the occupational, home-rating or social status scales. In a large number of such studies the evidence uniformly concurs in the conclusion that intelligence of parents is negatively correlated with number of offspring. These and similar studies, however, show that the intelligence of offspring is correlated positively with the social status. If one makes a study of sources of gifted children, he finds that most of them come from what we consider the middle and upper classes, that the upper classes contribute proportionately vastly more than their share, and the working classes disproportionately few. At the opposite extreme, subnormal children are found to come in disproportionate numbers from lower class levels.<sup>8</sup>

All this and much more, however, does not absolutely demonstrate that the upper classes are of superior biological quality. Here, as in so many other investigations, we discover that superior ability is associated with superior environmental opportunity, and vice versa. It is, therefore, possible for the partisans of one view to argue that the superiority of parents and of their children on the upper levels is due to environmental opportunity, whereas the inferiority at the opposite extreme is due to social handicaps.

Our solution of this difficulty is ren-

<sup>8</sup> References as in 5; also L. F. Terman, J. F. Duff, Florence Goodenough, M. Sirkin, and others.

dered extremely difficult by our present ignorance of the actual mode of mental inheritance. We shall probably discover in the course of time that mental traits are extremely diverse and that a multitude of genes participate in establishing their inherent basis. It is obvious that intensity of selection may vary enormously according to the number of factors involved, the number of multiple allelomorphs and degree of dominance and recession. As emphasized by J. B. S. Haldane and L. Hogben,<sup>9</sup> if a mental trait is due to a single dominant autosomal gene, its frequency in a population may be cut in two in a single generation, if the fertility of the stock carrying it is reduced by an equal amount. At the opposite extreme would be the traits where there are a considerable number of recessive genes involved, in which case selective action will be much slower. Just what the actual situation is we do not know.

The principles of blended inheritance and continuous variation upon which the work of Galton and Pearson was constructed are certainly less obvious in the light of Mendelian principles than they seemed thirty years ago. This does not, however, to my mind, warrant the complete rejection of investigations utilizing the correlation coefficient, to establish degrees of hereditary resemblance and the intensity of environmental influences. If we may assume that mentality is a complex, having as its heritable basis a considerable number of genetic factors, the assumption of continuous variation would give us at least an approximation to actuality. The greater the number of factors the closer the approximation. Moreover, this view is supported by the considerable mass of research dealing with "mental level," "general intelligence" or "I.Q.,"

<sup>9</sup> L. Hogben, *Genetics in Relation to Medicine and Social Life*, London, 1931, pp. 156 *et seq.*

and its considerable stability in the same individual over a period of years. Certainly one seems warranted in holding that though certain types of ability, say musical or mathematical, are highly specific, there is also a graded quality commonly called mental level which may be thought of in terms of averages and more or less. In that case we do not need to know the exact manner of mental inheritance in order to arrive at a reasonably accurate estimate of the distribution of general mental ability in the population. This trait, not being measureable directly, must be measured by its manifestations and for present purposes the question would be whether the various ways of measuring it correlate with marks of social status.

We would still have, however, the enormously difficult problem of determining the relative weights of the hereditary and environmental factors in the determination of mental level. Pearson long ago reached the conclusion that mental traits are inherited with the same intensity as the physical traits. Moreover, he found the correlation between parents and offspring, or among siblings, for both physical and mental traits much subject to environmental influences to be of much the same order as that for traits little subject to such influences. On the whole such a conclusion seems borne out by an enormous mass of subsequent investigation. Recently considerable evidence has been derived from the study of twins and orphans. Wingfield found the correlation for identical twins in general intelligence to be .90; for like-sex twins .83; for all twins .75; for fraternal twins, .70; for unlike-sex twins .59. Sandiford concluded that twins do not resemble each other more in traits subject to educational influences, such as ability in reading, arithmetic, spelling, etc., than they do in general intelligence, a trait presumably little

affected by specific training. Holzinger, by ingenious formulae, concluded that the weight of nature to nurture in causing differences between individual pairs of twins was four to one for height, 2.0 in Binet I.Q., and 1.7 in educational age. From a number of studies one is approximately correct in saying that identical twins reared together differ on an average by about 5.5 points in I.Q. When reared apart from infancy they differ on an average by around 8 points, the range of variation being, however, considerably greater. Fraternal twins reared together show average differences of about 10 points.<sup>10</sup>

These and similar studies find that life in institutional homes, where conditions are about as similar as society can make them, has little or no tendency to make boys and girls more alike in I.Q. Miss Lawrence found that the children in a home for illegitimates who had never lived with their fathers and had been separated from their mothers at an average of six months of age showed a correlation of own intelligence with father's occupation of much the same order as children in the elementary school living in their own homes. Jones and Carr-Saunders found the correlation of I.Q.'s of orphan children with parental occupation to be the same as that for non-orphans; Miss Lawrence found the same to be true of British Home's children. She also found for the latter that no consistent elevation of I.Q. resulted from prolonged life under the improved conditions of the institution. Wingfield found no tendency for four years in an orphanage to make children more alike in mental level, and similar results were ob-

<sup>10</sup> A. H. Wingfield, *Twins and Orphans. The Inheritance of Intelligence*. London, 1928; with P. Sandiford, "Twins and Orphans," *Jour. Educ. Psych.*, 19, 1928, 410-423. K. J. Holzinger, "The Relative Strength of Nature and Nurture Influences in Twin Differences," *Ibid.*, 20, 1929, 241-248.

tained by Hildreth and Davis. In her summary of a considerable number of researches Barbara Burks concludes that variations in environment may account in fairly extreme cases for variations of 20 points in the I.Q. level. This is certainly more than heredity enthusiasts would gladly accept; it would allow for normal inheritance to vary in its expression, as measured by mental tests, from 80 to 120. However, she finds the standard deviation of variations due to environmental differences to be about 6 points of I.Q.; and this might be taken as a rough indication of the variability in test intelligence due to those environmental variations which most commonly occur in American communities. Alongside this may be placed the fact that heredity clearly accounts for a full hundred points of I.Q. differences.<sup>11</sup>

I think one is therefore warranted in saying that the correlation found between intelligence and social status is largely a consequence of the differences in the biological worth of the social classes. Moreover, this is a result to be expected on various *a priori* grounds. There is ground for supposing that in any given society the upper strata of the population will be more richly endowed with those abilities which make for success in that society. This follows from the assumption that high social rank is everywhere a mark of prestige and carries certain social advantages likely to seem desirable to the more able of those born in lower ranks. Some

of these more able men would push upward and so also some of the more beautiful and talented women. In a competitive society such as ours this process of upward mobility is greatly accelerated by the principles of democratic liberalism. It has been a conscious aim of democracy for a century or more to provide an open road for talent. By universal free education we have sought to lift every individual to the highest level in the social scheme which his physical, mental, and character traits permit. We have multiplied scholarships and social services as aids to the poor but talented, and introduced vocational guidance to direct the individual to pursuits in harmony with his abilities. The prizes of life are placed openly before all and sundry; each is bidden to climb as high as he can and his ambition is stimulated by precept and example. So far as innate intelligence is a factor in success, whether in educational attainment or in the competitive struggle of industry and profession, we ought to expect to find more of it at the top than at the bottom of the social scale. It would seem a preposterous joke of fate if all our effort had availed nothing and the positions of honor and responsibility were occupied by men and women no abler than day laborers.

The acceleration of the upward movement of able individuals has been greatly stimulated by three social conditions. The phase of cultural evolution through which we have been passing, with its unparalleled material advancement, has called for all the latent talent the population could supply. There has not been lacking abundant opportunity for able and energetic men and women to elevate themselves in the social scale. Then, as already noted, we have provided an elaborate educational machine to facilitate the discovery and training of able individuals. This machine has acted like a gigantic

<sup>11</sup> E. M. Lawrence, "An Investigation of the Relation between Intelligence and Inheritance," *Brit. Jour. of Psych. Monogs.*, XVI, 1931; D. C. Jones and A. M. Carr-Saunders, "The Relation between Intelligence and Social Status among Orphan Children," *Brit. Jour. Psych.*, 17, 1926-27, 343-364; G. H. Hildreth, "The Resemblance of Siblings in Intelligence and Achievement," *Teachers College Contributions of Education*, 186, 1925; R. A. Davis, "The Influence of Heredity on the Mentality of Orphan Children," *Brit. Jour., Psych.*, 19, 1928, 44-59.

sorting apparatus, dropping out the less gifted at an early stage and carrying along the more gifted to higher levels. In the third place, the failure of the upper classes to add their full quota to succeeding generations has served to create vacancies to be filled by mobility from lower levels. As Fisher says, intelligence has in our society been associated with social success but with biological failure.

The total effect of these various processes would seem to be dysgenic. Democratic individualism destroyed a society of castes and privileged classes only to set up conditions leading to biological stratification. The best blood has moved upward at rates

which may well have left the lower strata genetically impoverished. Assortative mating renders each level more and more homogeneous in biological constitution. The differential birth rate thus appears to be definitely selective. Even if this is a substantially correct picture of the present situation, we should not fail to note that we have little accurate information as to the rapidity of this selective action. Moreover, the recent reduction of the birth rate in all classes serves to reduce whatever selection there may be, while its further reduction among the less successful elements of society might well eliminate selection altogether.

## DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY OF SOCIAL CLASSES

### I

FRANK LORIMER

*Washington, D. C.*

IT SEEMS to me that the question should be raised, although it may lie somewhat outside the data presented in the foregoing papers, as to whether or not the differential fertility of the social classes, which has been clearly demonstrated, is likely to be fairly permanent. To what extent is this differential merely the expression of a temporary lag in the diffusion of the family limitation pattern, and to what extent is it controlled by more fundamental biological or social factors? I am not going to try to answer this question. I do not think it can be answered, at present, but I think it needs to be raised. There are some data that suggest that differential fertility among social classes may be in part a temporary phenomenon.

Wide fluctuations in birth rates are

largely due to varying frequencies of very large families. It is true that Dr. Notestein's data show significant variations between social classes in frequencies of no-child and one-child families; but the variations are much greater in the frequencies of five-child, six-child, and larger families. Applying a technique developed by Burks and Oppenheimer for estimating completed fraternities from birth-order data, we may compare the frequencies of numbers of children borne by native white mothers in North Carolina, where natality runs very high, with the frequencies of numbers of children borne by native white mothers in California, where the birth rate is very low, using 1928 data. The average number of children borne by mothers in the former state appears to be 57 per cent

higher than the average number borne by mothers in California. Examining the distribution in greater detail, we find that, whereas only children occur about 30 per cent more frequently in California than in North Carolina, families with six children or more occur 300 per cent more frequently in North Carolina than in California. If, in both states, the mothers who now are bearing six children or more should limit their families to an average of three children per mother, but all other items in the distribution should remain unchanged, the average number of children borne would be only 12.5 per cent instead of 57 per cent higher in North Carolina than in California. This suggests that after the pattern of family limitation has become fairly well established in a community, the probable variations in the birth rate must fall within rather narrow limits.

Again, it appears that the differential fertility among social classes has already largely, perhaps wholly, disappeared in some European cities. Arvid-Edin's data for Stockholm are perhaps the best known in this connection, but Freudenberg, von Ungern-Sternberg and others have presented similar data for several other continental cities. Sander's data for Rotterdam do not show a complete disappearance of this differential, but they do indicate its great diminution. On the other hand, this change does not seem to have taken place in London, although the birth rate there has fallen as low as in some of these other cities. Dr. Hankins referred to David Heron's study of birth rate variations among London boroughs. It is a very simple matter to apply the same method to more recent statistics. After doing so, I do not find very different results for 1921 and 1929 from those which Heron observed for 1901. Let me repeat that I do not believe that we can tell what the situation will be in this country after the

new pattern of family limitation has been assimilated. But we ought to be able soon to know something about this, because in some sections of this country, notably northern New England and rural New York, the birth rate of the native white population now appears to be fairly well stabilized.

The methodological moral is fairly obvious. We have dipped into the population stream with various dragnets, and on the whole got surprisingly similar results; but it is important to apply the same techniques successively so that changes in trend can be accurately measured in relation to changing conditions. These Associations should urge the repetition in the census of 1940 of the questions, "Number of children ever born?" and "Number of children living?" on which the whole Milbank analysis of 1900 and 1910 data is founded, so that exactly comparable results can be obtained. I should also like to see the analysis of birth registration data by age of mother and occupation of father, which has been dropped since 1929, reinstated. It is gratifying to find that Dr. Thompson's analysis of ratios of children to women in 1920 is to be repeated with 1930 data.

One problem of interpretation, raised by Dr. Hankins' interesting paper, also seems to me to have important bearing on methodology. Although I agree with Dr. Hankins about the importance of biological variations, it seems to me that the selective action of differential reproduction on cultural trends deserves somewhat greater emphasis. So long as the institution of the family remains, home backgrounds will largely condition the physical, intellectual, and emotional development of children. Even if we were to assume that heredity is of no significance in human affairs, a constant disproportionate increase of population from fami-

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lies with the poorest economic and educational backgrounds must tend to reverse our expensive efforts in public health and in public education.

But to make such an assumption (that differences in heredity are of no importance in human affairs) would be contrary to the best evidence on the subject. As Dr. Hankins has shown, there have been many controlled studies of the relative importance of heredity and environment, especially with reference to intellectual development, such as comparisons of identical twins and non-identical twins, studies of identical twins reared apart, and studies of children in foster homes, and so forth. The studies which are being edited by Mr. Frederick Osborn include a survey of the present experimental data on this topic, prepared by Dr. Schwesinger. This will be published by Macmillan this fall. I think that a reading of these materials shows fairly conclusively that differences in levels of cultural-intellectual development between groups living in very different environments may often be due chiefly to environmental factors, but that hereditary factors are quite as important as environmental factors in causing the differences in intellectual development usually found between different urban social classes. But the importance of hereditary variations does not, in my opinion, justify an exclusive attention to this aspect of qualitative population trends.

Again, I wish to point a methodological moral. Variations in levels of cultural-intellectual development can be measured fairly accurately by psychological tests, if no assumptions are made regarding the causal factors responsible for these variations. By keeping the analysis on this relatively superficial level we can combine, quantitatively, net reproduction trends with variations in the intellectual development of children derived from different

groups. Therefore, if we assume that the combined operation of heredity and environment will continue to produce similar relative distributions of intellectual development, we can measure the effect of variations in net reproduction rates on the general distribution of intellectual levels.

I have carried out such an experiment, applying net reproduction indices derived from 1928 birth and infant mortality statistics to the distribution of intelligence quotients for children derived from different occupational groups as reported in a rural New York State survey. I shall not discuss the method, except to say that a reproduction rate for each social group is applied to the whole range of intelligence quotients for that class, so that the brilliant children of unskilled workers and the stupid children of professional workers are brought into the picture. The estimated change in central tendency is not alarming, amounting to a decrease of slightly less than one per cent in median intelligence quotient for the whole population in one generation; but the changes indicated at the extreme are much greater, suggesting a decrease of about 12 per cent in the frequency of the most gifted children and an increase of about 6 per cent in the frequency of borderline and mentally deficient children. Theodore Lentz, who carried out a somewhat similar experiment, based directly on the intelligence quotients of 4,330 children examined in schools and clinics in Bridgeport, Englewood, New York, and St. Louis, and the average number of children in the family from which each of these children came, finds evidence of a considerably more rapid decline in central measures of intelligence, as the result of differential fertility. The greater decline indicated here may be due, in part, to the fact that individual differentials within each social group are taken into account in the data used by Lentz, and, in part, to a

greater frequency of extremely bright and extremely dull children in the clinic samples included in his data, and in part to less adequate corrections for differences in mortality. All such calculations necessarily involve large margins of error. I simply emphasize that on this more superficial level we can, more or less accurately, and quite objectively, measure changes that are actually taking place. As soon as we attempt to deal with the causal mechanisms which effect these changes, we become involved in much more intricate problems. We should not dodge these more difficult problems, but the changes in themselves, regardless of their causal interpretations, are significant.

Finally, granted that the materials presented in the two papers are fundamentally sound, what is to be done? In the first place, unless the tension of recurrent economic crises can be lifted, little can ever be done toward any intelligent control of population trends. But, granted that some measure of economic security can be established in our national life, I still do not believe that we can expect, if we face the situation realistically, that the reproduction rates of urban classes of superior social status will rise to their full replacement quotas for many years. This means that if urban populations are to be held anywhere near the replacement level, it can only be at the expense of excessive reproduction from the families that have the most meagre economic, educational and perhaps genetic resources. On the other

hand, if the extension of contraceptive practices is encouraged, perhaps supplemented by a more extensive development of voluntary sterilization procedures, sizes of family among these less privileged groups can quite possibly be reduced to the levels prevailing among the more privileged groups, so that the social class differential will disappear. Wherever in Europe this differential has disappeared it has been because of such a leveling down of the birth rates of the classes with inferior status. Then, eventually, it may be possible through the development of conditions more favorable to reproduction, including earlier marriages and greater economic security for young couples, gradually to raise the reproduction rates of the groups with greatest resources.

In the meantime, especial importance attaches to the rural population, which in 1930 included only 38 per cent of the women of child-bearing age, but 50 per cent of all the children under 5 years of age in this country. Since rural communities constitute the chief source of population increase, we must recognize that if these communities become so impoverished that they can only hold and attract the less energetic families, all other possible eugenic measures are likely to prove useless. For this reason, I am convinced that the national farm-relief measure just enacted is a forward step of supreme importance from the population standpoint. I seem, at last, to have struck an optimistic note. I will stop at this point.

## II

LOUIS I. DUBLIN

*Metropolitan Life Insurance Company*

THERE can be little question as to the fundamental fact that there is differential fertility in relation to social status. As both speakers have indicated, there is a wealth of literature on this subject, and it all pretty well points one way, namely, that those in better circumstances generally have fewer children and that the poor have larger families. The record, of course, is not very complete. As Dr. Notestein pointed out in his very valuable paper, there is much to be wished for in the records of the census. We tried very hard in connection with the 1930 Census to elicit facts with regard to the family and to make special tabulations of the facts of fertility and fecundity. But, unfortunately, this was abandoned for such more important items as whether the family owns a radio or not. Even the painstaking and special tabulations made by Dr. Notestein left a good deal to be wished for because you will remember that he did not always deal with completed marriages. Some of his basic tables relate to women under 40 and 45 and these are not synonymous with completed marriages. There is great need for more work along the lines suggested by Dr. Notestein and I hope in connection with the next census, there will be a better understanding on the part of those in authority of the fundamental importance of gathering well-considered information on what is happening to the American family both as to the number of children during the marriage, the previous marital history of the parents, and other items which will tell us what is happening to that fundamental institution, the family. Nevertheless, I am quite ready to admit

for the sake of the argument that there is a clear-cut differential fertility in relation to social status.

More important than this fact of differential fertility is a satisfactory appreciation of its significance. What does this fact mean from the point of view of well-organized society? I would gather from the wording of the topic we are discussing that there is a feeling abroad that differential fertility will have a decidedly adverse effect upon the quality of the American population. The question is actually asked, is the quality of our population on the down grade? That, in fact, has been the underlying fear of most workers in the field of population statistics who have concerned themselves with the declining birth rate, on the one hand, and with differential fertility, on the other. Especially have the eugenists played up this phase of the problem. You will remember that one of their favorite questions is, (it is really a rhetorical question), Would you have two-thirds of the next generation constituted of the lower third of the present one? That has been the main trend of the discussion in this field. My contribution here is primarily to question the validity of the assumption behind this type of question. I am not convinced that the phenomenon of differential fertility is a dysgenic force, that is, in its totality. I am quite willing to admit that there are weak spots in the picture worthy of investigation but I am skeptical as to whether the tendency as a whole necessarily involves deterioration from the point of view of blood and stock.

In general, I am in agreement with the attitude of Professor Hankins. He, too,

has raised rather fundamental questions as to the assumption that differential fertility is directly connected with quality of population. In the first place, on the score of physique, he pointed out that there were many groups in the so-called lower classes which physically excelled other elements of the British population. I am convinced that there is no fundamental difference in innate physique between the various economic levels. At the beginning of life, the children of the working classes are well born and they are well constituted. This is indicated by the fact that mortality in childhood is as good, if not better, in that large group of industrial policyholders than it is in the general population at the same childhood ages. This is not true of infant mortality where high mortality is clearly associated with economic status and all that implies in the way of care of the newborn child. But after the dangerous first year is past, the picture shows no such disadvantage for the children of the poor.

Professor Hankins makes a point of the mental differences and stresses the fact that the evidence uniformly indicates that intelligence of parents is negatively correlated with number of offspring. I suppose that is true, but, as Professor Hankins intimates, this fact does not demonstrate that the upper classes are of superior biological quality. That really is the issue. Heretofore, we have begged the question. We have always assumed that higher intelligence meant superior worth. But, more and more, this assumption will be questioned. Those who have written on this subject have often unconsciously played with loaded dice. They have stressed the value of their own qualities such as literacy, high intelligence, social standing, etc., as evidence, of innate superiority. But, more and more, we are rec-

ognizing that these so-called qualities arise very largely out of environmental opportunity and as Professor Hankins intimates, the inferiority at the opposite extreme is due to social handicaps. I am pretty well convinced that we, for the most part, make our poor. We are just beginning to understand how to work together for the common weal. The point of view of those in authority in the past has been to preserve the status of those who had power. There was very little sense of solidarity in society, and little respect for the inherent worth of individuals, irrespective of social stratum, irrespective of occupational classification, irrespective of the trappings that are accidental and the hangover of the injustices of the past, yes, and even of the present. To my mind, the best index of quality is not intelligence or the ability to make money or even to obtain leading position in society, but rather the simple quality we call character. What do we really know about the diffusion of character in the various social levels? Very little; but I suspect that, if we learned how to proceed and could make a fair examination of the distribution of this basic quality in the various economic levels, we would be greatly surprised to find that there was very little bias or concentration of this characteristic in any particular group.

After all, if we were really honest with ourselves, I think we would be inclined to admit that this is our common experience. High intelligence and social position is no guarantee of the possession of the elementary virtues or of the qualities that make for good citizenship. All we need to do is to look about us to see the evidences of deviltry of those in high places. What does the present turmoil that we are in signify? Or else go back a few years and look to the devastating effects of the war. Did that experience

result from the stupidity or cupidity of the poor? No; it was the direct result of the stupidity and the cupidity of those in power. Did the leaders of Germany or of Czarist Russia lack intelligence as that term is generally understood? No; they did not but they lacked character. They were quite ready to throw the whole world into agony provided they could preserve or increase their power. Their superiority of position was not synonymous with social quality but the very reverse.

So you see, I am not at all convinced of the dangers that are incidental to the differential fertility that Dr. Notestein has outlined. We need not be seriously concerned over the past and present tendencies toward reduced fertility in the upper social strata. This does not mean that there are not definite problems to solve and adjustments to make. Obviously, the community cannot continue to permit the degenerate and the defective to multiply without control. Very definite limitations must be put on them to protect the next gen-

eration. But apart from that measure of control, I doubt whether we need unduly concern ourselves with the effects of differential fertility in the classes. And much more important service could be rendered in the direction of the welfare of the next generation if we gave as much constructive attention to eliminating the sources of poverty and of degradation in order to permit the young to develop those qualities to the fullest which they inherently possess. That is a practical procedure. There are much more important problems to be solved in relation to the quantity of population than there are in the field of quality. More important than either, is the development of a general consciousness of the inherent worth of the individual, a determination to protect human values and to stop, what we have done too often in the past, the exploitation of the low-born to permit their native abilities which are widely distributed to blossom out in the fullest degree. If we do that, we need not be concerned about the quality of the next generation.

### III

EARL T. ENGLE

*College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University*

IN A discussion of differential fertility one should inquire into two related physiological conditions, namely, what are the normal physiological conditions and hazards of conception, and, as a corollary, what, under conditions of exposure optimum for pregnancy, is the expected average number of offspring.

The fecundity potential of the human female has not been determined. We do not know how many pregnancies or how many live births are possible within any given female population.

With experimental animals, which are

in nowise comparable, we have the data of Slonaker who divided a large series of rats into four groups and studied the reproductive performance under different rates. The one group, medium breeders, which reared their young, produced an average of 8.66 litters, while heavy breeders, whose young were removed at birth, and kept under conditions of maximum pregnancy exposure, produced only 10.0 litters, or 1.4 more litters in a lifetime.

There are limiting factors which prevent the successful fruition of maximum pregnancy exposure. How many completed

pregnancies may the average human female expect under basic conditions?

Dr. Aberle's recent study of the Pueblo Indian, a small but well selected body of data, shows an interesting fact. This investigator has demonstrated to her own satisfaction that contraceptive measures have not been used in this community. With these people the pregnancy rate ranges from 9 to 14 per woman, and the modal interval between births is 24 months. She also indicates that this interval has not changed in the more than 200 years in which these people have been recorded, and is comparable to the modal interval of the birth registration area of 1921.

Raymond Pearl discusses 816 women of a suspected high fecundity who had been referred to the Birth Control Clinic. These women "had exhibited, on the average, almost exactly one pregnancy for every two years of their married lives." I am inclined to accept some such figure as the average physiological maximum for woman.

Considering the data presented by Dr. Notestein for the group having the highest fertility, the farm laborers with a modal female age at marriage of 18, giving 27 possible years of exposure to pregnancy, have on the average 6 births. Could one eliminate the 7 per cent childless unions in this series, an interval of more than four years would exist between births.

The physiological factors to be considered in seeking a reason for the limited number of births are many.

1. Through adolescence menstrual periods occur without ovulation. Despite the clinical and social records of 13 and 15 year old pregnancies, it cannot be considered that these are typical of the earliest pregnancy ages possible in the population. Margaret Mead's Samoans are valid cases in point where pregnancies do not occur,

on the average, in adolescents until after several years of sexual freedom.

2. In the sexually mature woman it is probable that ovulation does not occur at every cycle. While extensive data do not exist, it is quite evident that a menstrual period may occur without a previous ovulation. In the monkey, the non-ovulatory menstrual cycle is common. From Hartman's data, it appears to be almost the rule.

3. It now seems that, on the average, ovulation in the human cycle is limited to the 9th to 16th days of the cycle. It may occur earlier or later but the peak incidence for both monkeys and humans appears to be on the 10th to 12th days. Exceptions must be plentiful, and it is reasonable to assume the occasional occurrence of the rabbit type of ovulation (ovulation upon coitus and orgasm). Such a condition would explain the authenticated case of Bartlemez in which a fertile mating occurred on the 26th day of the cycle.

4. With ovulation limited to a brief period, we also recognize now a brief period of survival for the egg, which is not much over 48 hours.

5. Students of sterility are now inclined to place nearly half of the fault of no-child unions on the male partner.

We know from experimental methods that the fertilizing potential of the sperm is lost long before motility has ceased. This period is judged by many to be 48 hours. The concentration of spermatozoa in a semen sample is important. Pertinent observations are cited by Moench. It has been known for years that there are in any sample of sperm, human or mammalian, many which are morphologically atypical. Moench says that normal males of proven fertility have always about 20 per cent atypical sperm. If the typical sperm range between 20 and 25 per cent, fertility is impaired. More than 25 per cent ab-

normality has been found only in men who are definitely sterile.

When the egg is fertilized, another series of conditions is faced. As Streeter has said, some are "good eggs" and some are "bad eggs." The whole matter of proper development of the egg, its implantation and the formation of the embryonic membranes depends on the quality of the egg. There is a recognized "reproductive wastage" of about 20 per cent both in man and lower animals. We cannot now consider the abortion problem, but spontaneous abortions, like facultative sterility, appear to be higher in the upper than the lower classes. Dickenson's studies give nearly 30 per cent in his series. Following a completed pregnancy there is a certain degree of lactation amenorrhea, and probably a higher though unknown ovulation failure during lactation.

I have mentioned some of the more important of the fertilization hazards. These hazards doubtless increase beyond the age of 30 in both man and woman.

Dr. Notestein has mentioned that with the same number of years of married life, those who married early had more children than those who married late. May it not be well, in view of the many physiological hazards to fertilization, that we should consider as a refinement of the "pregnancy-exposure years" concept the idea of the influence of frequency of intercourse or *copulation incidence* which may be assumed to be higher in the 20 to 30 year group than in older groups.

Another point which interests me in Dr. Notestein's paper is that after the age of 25 there was a tendency for the upper class to be more fertile in comparison to the lower. Is it not true that among the rural populations the rapidly maturing woman, the "early blooming variety" who is assumed to be more fecund would find a mate earlier than the more slowly maturing one. Thus the woman of rural environment who married after 25 would represent a group against whom sexual selection had operated. Social factors which delay the marriage of urban women would permit their total fecundity to appear to advantage over that of the two rural groups.

These details of physiology do not completely answer the questions of the higher frequency of facultative sterility and the probable higher incidence of spontaneous abortion in the upper classes. There still remain for consideration the extrinsic factors about which nothing can be said, such as temperature, diet, etc. The intrinsic or constitutional factors are more important. These data presented probably mean that in an artificial and competitive culture such as ours, the physical and physiological characters which make for success in a profession or business are not the same as those which make good breeders. It seems biologically impossible that the same group should do both. Karl Pearson said many years ago "Society recruits itself from below." This is not only true but is probably as it should be.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE FROM A EUGENIC  
POINT OF VIEW

PAUL POPENOE

*The Institute of Family Relations, Los Angeles*

WHILE the number of divorces has increased from year to year, the number of marriages has also increased, and the difference between them, which represents the number of successful marriages, shows little change over a long period of time. The size of the "divorce evil" is therefore usually exaggerated.

Nevertheless, when nearly 200,000 divorces are granted in a single year, as has lately been the case, the problem is of sufficient magnitude to challenge eugenis. A first question would naturally be, what sort of people are getting divorces?

A very slight consideration at once shows that the divorcees are on the whole biologically inferior to the happily married part of the population. They represent a much higher frequency of mental disease, a shorter expectation of life, and a high degree of sterility. Despite innumerable exceptions, then, it cannot be doubted that the divorcees as a group represent a population that is eugenically less desirable than the average, and if their divorces reduce their fecundity the result is desirable.

Just how many undesirable births are prevented by these divorces is doubtful because of the very low fertility of the entire group of divorcees. Two-thirds of them have no children at all at the time they seek the divorce courts, although they have been married for an average of eight or ten years. Five-sixths of them represent the minority of the whole population that has no children or only one child. From this point of view, the divorcees are in many cases the discards of

evolution, and their lack of offspring is one of the factors making for racial betterment.

At the same time, some of the divorcees are naturally superior to others, and their numbers include a good many persons who were unfortunately mated to inferior partners, and who if released from these partners should and do remarry with better success. Only about one-third of the divorcees ever remarry. Men greatly outnumber women among the remarried divorcees. A middle-aged divorced man tends to marry a woman who is younger than himself and not previously married. This provides husbands for a certain number of superior women who failed to marry at the usual time, and thereby reduces one of the most serious dysgenic factors in American life, namely, the large proportion of college graduate women who, through failure to marry, make no contribution to the next generation.

On the other hand, the middle-aged divorced woman has little chance of remarriage unless she possesses unusual qualifications, such as personality, wealth, or social status. The accumulation of middle-aged divorced women in large cities creates a very serious problem socially, although it is of little direct consequence eugenically.

Divorce is not a solution of marital conflict, but a running away from it. In this respect there is an interesting analogy with mental disease which, in a concept used by many psychiatrists, is regarded as essentially an attempt to escape from an unpleasant reality to which the individual cannot make a successful adjustment.

Without pushing the analogy too far, one may recognize that an appeal to the divorce court is likewise an attempt to escape from an unpleasant reality to which the individual cannot make a successful adjustment. Such a course of action perhaps is likely to accompany an inferior type of constitutional and emotional endowment.

Of course, to run away from a problem may sometimes be the wisest policy, but it does not solve the problem, and if the problem is really in one's own personality, then the individual merely takes it along with him when he leaves home. For this reason divorce frequently fails to give its seekers the satisfaction which they expected to find. They discover that it is necessary to make a set of adjustments to new and unexpected conditions which may be quite as trying as the conditions from which they are endeavoring to escape. Among these new adjustments are the adjustment to the wound to one's self-esteem, the adjustment to a new social life, the adjustment to a new economic status, and the adjustment to a changed sexual life, in various cases.

The high frequency of mental disease among divorced persons not merely suggests the prevalence of defective constitutions, but also suggests that in many instances these new adjustments have been too difficult for the personality to make.

While therefore divorce is not so successful a solution of matrimonial discord as it is often thought to be, and in many instances such solution could better be found through reëducation, the same argument cannot be offered against it as a solution of mismating from a eugenic point of view. Here the problem is settled once for all. If a superior individual finds himself or herself mated to one who is eugenically inferior, and if a release from this mating would give an opportunity for a

better mating in which offspring could be produced, then the divorce is eugenically useful. While such cases are in the minority, they nevertheless form an important part of the general problem of divorce and remarriage.

No direct evidence is available as to the reproduction of persons who have remarried after divorce. This is a point on which research is highly desirable.

Hitherto no direct evidence has been available as to the success of remarriage after divorce. On the one hand it has been supposed that the divorced person would profit by previous mistakes and be much more likely to succeed in a second attempt. On the other hand it has been supposed that people who get divorces have undesirable and inferior personalities and that if they remarried they would simply make a failure of a second or third mating.

The easy solution to this problem is to appeal to the facts, and I have therefore gotten information concerning a little more than 1,000 remarriages of divorced persons which are set forth in Table I.

The happiness of these marriages was rated by close friends or relatives. I have shown elsewhere the reasons for believing that this is a valid procedure. In these remarriages after divorce, nearly two-thirds are considered happy. Only those marriages were taken which had lasted at least five years, so that they represent a stabilized situation. They are from every part of the United States, but homogeneous in so far as they are confined to what might be called the normal, educated part of the population.

There is no significant difference between the success of the men and the success of the women who have remarried after divorce.

Tabulations of more than 10,000 other marriages show that about 70 per cent of

the marriages of more than five years' duration in the normal, educated part of the whole American population can be put down as happy without any qualifications. The success of divorcees who remarry is therefore not much less than that of first marriages as a whole. But it must be remembered that these remarriages after divorce are exceptional, and that two-thirds of the divorcees do not remarry.

Viewing the subject broadly, divorce must not be thought of as an evil. Mismatching is an evil, and broken homes are evil unless there are good reasons for breaking them. Divorce does not break up homes, but merely registers legally the fact that a home has been previously broken by other causes. The fact that two-thirds of the divorcees do not remarry should dispose of the theory sometimes held that most people who seek the divorce court do so because they have fallen in love with someone else and want to change mates.

The conservation of the family is to be sought not through changes in divorce laws but through better education for marriage; a broader range of social opportunities for young people to enable them to find suitable mates; legal provision for at least three days' delay before a marriage license is issued, to prevent hasty and unwise marriages; physical examination before marriage; and the provision of clinics or other facilities for giving people the necessary technical information and

aid in adjustment of personality to the married state.

No matter how much might be achieved along these lines, there would still be some marriages so badly assorted, as for instance when one partner is insane, that their dissolution is eugenically desirable so that the sane or superior partner may remarry. The figures indicate that divorce at the present time is actually having this effect

TABLE I  
REMARriages AFTER DIVORCE

	HAPPY	DOUBTFUL	UNHAPPY	TOTAL
Men.....	364	61	147	572
Women.....	287	68	131	486
Total.....	651 (62%)	129 (12%)	278 (26%)	1058 (100%)

and that the small proportion which remarries is nearly as successful in its second marriages as others are in their first marriages.

Divorce, therefore, has at least some real eugenic value. It does not, however, deserve the attention that is being given to it, if the purpose of this attention is to increase the percentage of successful marriages. Such increase must come from more general social, economic, and educational measures, directed at the period before marriage or immediately afterwards.

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TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE  
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

## OBSERVATION AND THE SURVEY METHOD IN SOCIOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

*Duke University*

WHILE sociology will find it difficult if not impossible to use to any great degree the exact methods of the natural sciences, it should of course employ these methods wherever and whenever they are adapted to its purpose. To use them exclusively or predominantly is to overlook the differences between social and physical phenomena. We have shown that the phenomena studied by sociology are dissimilar in nature to those studied by the natural sciences, and therefore require different methods of investigation. Nevertheless, wherever exact observation, experiment, or measurement—the methods of the natural sciences—can be used in the study of the social phenomena they should obviously be employed.

No one doubts that personal observation is the mother of all science, and most would probably agree with Comte that even the personal observation of a single individual, when extended over a life time, not infrequently reveals important social

principles. The difficulties, however, in the personal observation of the behavior of social groups have not been appreciated until very recently. Now that these difficulties are beginning to be recognized, sociological research students are attempting to establish for small groups sociological laboratories where the actual processes of social life take place within a sufficiently narrow scope to permit consistent observation and recording. Such a sociological laboratory may perhaps be helpful in the observation of certain social processes. However, it would seem that in general the conditions are too artificial and too limited to throw much light upon human social behavior. It should be remembered that the best sociological laboratory is always the social life around us, the natural human community, a nation, a civilization, the human world at large, and even, in one sense, human history. Ultimately sociologists are driven to consider these larger units though, of course, there are many psychological advantages in observing small groups that can be seen, such as the family and the neighborhood.

A recent symposium on the observability of social phenomena puts forth the claim that social interaction can be studied

<sup>1</sup> A chapter from a book soon to be published by the author on *Methods in Sociology—A Critical Study*. For detailed and concrete statement of the methods discussed in this chapter the reader would do well to consult Odum and Jocher's *Introduction to Social Research*, Chapters XV and XVI.

observationally and reliable scientific data obtained.<sup>2</sup> No one would dispute this within limits. Social interaction is analyzed into spatial contacts, physical contacts, verbal contacts, and gestures; or in other words, into spatial contiguity, bodily contacts, spoken language, and facial and bodily gestures. One of the more careful critics in this symposium points out that all that is strictly observable in these social processes, comparable to the exact observations of physical science, are movements in space and time and that all the rest are interpretations. He, therefore, distinguishes five levels of social observation. The first is the strictly behavioristic observation of bodily movements in space and time. The next level is when these space and time movements are related functionally to some total configuration of movement. The third level of observation is when implications of consciousness and of its influence on behavior are admitted into the observations recorded. This is where interpretations of behavior are often attempted in terms of epiphenomenalism, interactionism, or psycho-physical parallelism. A fourth level of observation is where some obscured or simulated meanings are found in the total behavior configuration, such as, bluff, conceit, affectation, evasion, etc. Very rightly this critic of social observation says, "No one doubts that there are phenomena of this level of description. No one denies the hazard of error in working in this field. And no one can deny that a completely objective account (of such behavior) would be directly false. The problem of this and the succeeding level is the problem of rendering a subjective

observation objective on the one hand, and, on the other, of devising objective check-ups and validations for identifications and processes which in their nature will perhaps always remain subjective in their apprehension." A fifth level of difficulty in social observation is the observation of obscured or simulated meanings in behavior configurations of which the subject himself is not aware or which he actively protests as unreal. This, the writer says, lands us in the psycho-analytical realm, the most hazardous realm of human observation. He concludes: "We are brought to face the central problem of whether there is only one way of arriving at scientific conclusions—by quantifications. Or whether in the psychological or in the social, we may not also validate laws by the internal rational consistency of inferences gained by insight. It would seem that in the social-psychological this is not only possible; it is absolutely necessary."

The limitations of purely objective personal observation in sociology apply, of course, in all their force to so-called sociological experiments. Physical scientists and those enamored of physical science methods frequently tell us that it is only through the method of experiment that the social sciences can be given a basis of unquestioned fact and theory. Usually such advocates of the methods of experiment in the social sciences mean by it, however, something very different from what we find in natural science laboratories. They usually mean by it nothing more than the careful observation of the results of some new "experiment" in the social, political, or economic field. Thus a physicist who has recently advocated the extension of the experimental method to the social sciences acknowledged "It is difficult to see how to apply the experimental method . . . to the solution of

<sup>2</sup> See *Sociologist*, ix, Nos. 1 and 4, "A Symposium on the Observability of Social Phenomena with Respect to Statistical Analysis," especially the articles by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and James W. Woodard.

such questions . . . perhaps the experiment is one which must be prolonged over the centuries . . . such experiments are extremely difficult because of the great number of uncontrollable variables that enter into the observations. But unless experimental evidence pro and con can be collected, such questions must be assigned either to the realm of pure logic or to the realm of taste." This quotation makes it clear that what the writer is really thinking of is an improved historical method based upon exact personal observation. It is hardly justifiable to speak of such a method as the same as the experimental method in the natural sciences where conditions can be controlled and where variables can be arbitrarily altered at the will of the experimenter. Almost never do such conditions present themselves in the field of the social sciences. A recent advocate of exact, quantitative methods in sociology confesses: "The sociologist's ability to control his conditions and set up any experiment worthy of the name is probably so limited as to be negligible."

Social scientists who have been enthusiastic advocates of the statistical method frequently claim that that method bears much the same relation to the social sciences that the experimental method bears to the physical sciences. This is because they believe that the statistical method not only furnishes us the means of measuring social facts and forces upon a wide scale, but also yields correlations between variables which hold universally. This claim we shall examine in the next chapter. Here it is only necessary to point out that the statistical method bears very little resemblance to the experimental method in the natural sciences, where exact observations may be made under controlled conditions. It would seem, therefore, that the nearest approach to the experimental method in the social sciences which we can

get would be the careful study of social phenomena by trained observers under controlled conditions.

Here opens the possibility of two sorts of scientific monographs, both of which are needed and useful in sociology. The one is the case study, the other is the community or regional survey. The case study method was taken over by sociological students from social workers and physicians. In both social work and in medicine it has been found that carefully compiled case histories were of the utmost practical value. Sociological students soon perceived that case histories could also be made very valuable for purely scientific purposes. Case studies usually deal with an individual or with a family. There is doubt about the propriety of employing the term for the study of much larger groups. Most case studies have dealt with the individual and have sought to find out all about the individual's life experience, his interaction with other persons, and with the situations, institutions, and materials in his social environment. The methods employed have varied and are almost necessarily complex. The personal interview with the individual and with others closely related to him is usually an indispensable part of the case study. But wherever documents of any sort whether private letters, diaries, or other kinds are accessible, they are used and analyzed. Thus in some respects a carefully made case study approaches the historical method. There can be no question as to the value of the case study method in throwing light upon processes of social interaction and their results in personality and thus also, indirectly, upon social conditions. However, case studies are too narrow to throw any light upon the larger sociological problems connected with social evolution and cultural changes.

The survey method furnishes a some-

what broader basis for the inductive study of human society. A community survey, if centered upon the social processes of the community, may possibly be said to be a case study of a community.<sup>3</sup> Certainly there is no need of conflict between the case study method and the survey method. Like the case study method the survey method was taken over from social workers. About a quarter of a century ago the practical needs of social workers for more accurate knowledge of social conditions in their communities led to their instituting programs of social investigation which they called "social surveys." One of the first and the most extensive of these "surveys" was the well-known Pittsburgh Survey. This was followed by surveys of all sorts in widely scattered communities such as "health surveys," "educational surveys," "crime surveys," "industrial surveys," etc. Over thirty thousand of such surveys have now been made in the United States alone. It will be noted that the movement to make such surveys arose entirely to meet practical needs, and at first there was no thought of making them a contribution to scientific methods of studying social life. Moreover, the surveys were at first confined largely to the material aspects of community life such as sanitation, housing, wages, etc. They were entirely studies of local and temporal phenomena and seemed to promise very little in the way of making a contribution to scientific social theory.

But after a time it was noted that the social workers, while they had popu-

larized the survey method, were by no means the first to employ it, and that probably that honor belonged to the field anthropologists. The old-time anthropologist was a laboratory or library worker, usually relying for his knowledge of customs and institutions upon the reports of travellers and missionaries. But the latter years of the nineteenth century saw the development of anthropologists who are mainly field workers. In many cases they worked coöperatively, organizing expeditions, which undertook extensive anthropological surveys investigating minutely the customs, institutions, and even the ideas, beliefs, and history of the population of a given region. Such were, for example, the Jesup North Pacific Expedition and the Torres Straits Expedition. Very valuable scientific results came from such anthropological surveys, especially when their facts were compared with one another.

Now it is entirely conceivable that the survey method is capable of being developed in all the social sciences in the spirit and with similar methods to those employed in cultural anthropology. Indeed, it is well-known that the famous survey of *Middletown* was undertaken and carried out in the spirit and with the methods of modern field anthropology. This notable survey of a middle western community deserves to become the model for practically all community surveys in the future. However, the basis of even this survey is too narrow. All that is said about interracial relations in the community is virtually condensed into a footnote, and the very slight consideration of the social tradition of the community leads to little or nothing being said directly about nationalism, militarism, and other vital social attitudes. But this survey remains the best example we have of a scientific case study of a community.

It is beginning to be perceived, however,

<sup>3</sup> My colleague, Professor Howard E. Jensen, comments: "Surely the typical survey is no more a case study of a community than a purely behavioristic study of a personality is a case study of the individual. On the other hand, I should say that the case study method is applicable to any size of group; that it is applicable from the study of the personality to the study of civilization itself. Any adequate sociological study shows fusion of case method and historical method."

that what the social sciences need is not so much careful surveys of relatively small communities as "regional surveys." There is no reason why the area surveyed should not be as large as the natural scientists or the anthropologists would make it for their purposes. If this is done then valuable scientific facts can be secured and extensive comparisons instituted between different regions and communities. Here we have as near an approach to the laboratory method in the social sciences as it is possible to attain; for the world of human beings is the only possible laboratory which the social scientist can employ. Like laboratory methods in the natural sciences, the intensive, careful, systematic study of regions and communities might permit the isolation of various social phenomena and their study by a combination of methods. In a certain sense it is true that for the social scientist nature has set a great many experiments going at once in many different laboratories, and the scientific social observer has only to devise adequate methods of checking up the results. This may be difficult and may necessitate observations over a considerable period of time. Not infrequently, however, a small number of observations carefully made may suffice to establish accurate scientific knowledge. The method of the "participant observer" especially deserves, as we have argued elsewhere, to be more fully tried, even though it does involve a large use of scientific imagination.

However, social life is no longer regional or even national but international. What is needed most of all is, of course, accurate survey methods applied to the whole of our civilization. Such a vast coöperative undertaking may at first thought seem fantastic; but is surely the logical goal of the social sciences on the side of induction; for we cannot make world generalizations without world in-

duction. The work of the National Census bureaus in various countries have shown that the survey method might be applied not only nationally but internationally. If the social sciences are to be of practical value we surely need to know much more about conditions of our whole civilization than we have known. Of course, statistical accuracy must be emphasized in any such development of the survey method. Virtually the gathering and comparison of statistics becomes a part of the survey method.

Moreover, such a survey method is not opposed to the historical method of approaching social problems. From one point of view the historical method includes the survey method; but from another point of view the survey method includes the historical method as one of its necessary parts. The survey must be a study in time if it is to be of great scientific value; for it should always be borne in mind that all social phenomena which we may observe are outcomes of an historical process. Thus, we may expect that the survey method in the future, including, as it doubtless will, a high degree of statistical accuracy and of historical insight, will become a sort of a synthesis of all the inductive, matter-of-fact methods of studying human society. The superficial social and regional surveys which have been undertaken in the past will be increasingly discounted and increasingly we shall see develop a survey method which will be a combination of all inductive methods for the scientific study of the social life.

Two mistakes have been made by the users of the survey method in the past which need to be corrected before the survey can be made a genuinely useful instrument for the advancement of the social sciences. The first mistake is that the social surveys which have been made have been, as a rule, too static. Surveys

need to become more a study of processes, movements, and tendencies in communities and regions than they have yet become. Modern science is essentially a study of processes, and it is only by understanding processes and tendencies that we can hope to exercise scientific control. Social facts and conditions need to be exhibited as phases of a process of development in order to be understood. This is one reason why the essentials of historical method must be incorporated into the survey method to make it scientifically worth while. Social observation which is static helps but little in the understanding of the human social processes. The social survey should be more than a "photograph of a community;" it should be a "moving picture" of a community or a region. It was the great merit of *Middletown* that it presented such a "moving picture" of a community and made its survey essentially a study of processes.

This brings us to another fatal fault which has too often been present in community and regional surveys; and that is their failure to take into account such non-material elements of culture as traditions, standards, values, opinions, and beliefs prevalent in the group. It is these community traditions which make the civilization and social life of a community or of a region. It is evidently quite as necessary to get at these as it is at the material conditions of existence, such as industry, wages, housing, health, sanitation, and standards of living. It is just the study of these material conditions which so frequently makes the survey method superficial. To be sure traditions, standards, and beliefs are not so easily studied, because they are not tangible and measurable. Usually it is thought that these can only be gotten at by the questionnaire method. The questionnaire method, however, presents psychological difficulties which often

make the results obtained by it of little scientific value. A much better method is the study of written documents of all sorts, such as personal letters, newspapers, and other written or printed material which has not been designed consciously as evidence of the state of civilization of a community or region. Of course, such documents will have to be used with the same critical care with which the scientific historian would use them. Here again the survey method coalesces with the historical. A much better plan of getting at regional and community traditions, values, and beliefs if, of course, to live in the community or region which is being studied, in the same way that the field worker among anthropologists would live in a region which he is studying. This virtually becomes the method of the "participant observer" of which we have already spoken. While it is subject to the same pit-falls as the questionnaire method, yet if properly used, as the field anthropologist uses it, the danger of mistakes would be lessened by the very fact that only trained observers were employed in gathering the data to be studied.

It may be objected that the complexity of such a method of social induction as has been described will place it beyond the ability of ordinary minds. This I do not believe. The practical difficulties of inductive social investigation cannot be ignored, but they can be surmounted by proper training. Social observation and the survey method are still very far from being developed to the point which I have described. Perhaps they cannot be so developed without the aid of governmental and educational agencies. We must all admit that the social sciences, like all other sciences, cannot flourish without the aid and encouragement of society-at-large, especially of governmental and educational institutions. But social scientists

themselves, as we have already pointed out, need to raise their present level of scholarship. The sociologist in particular must have not only some mastery of the complexities of the inductive study of human society, but as we have insisted, he

must know all that the antecedent sciences have to give him and at the same time be able to make full use of social imagination and critical reasoning. Without a synthesis of all of these methods scientific sociology is impossible.

## STUDENT PROJECTS AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

*University of Minnesota*

EACH day hundreds of sociologists walk solemnly into classrooms and face thousands of young men and women. The sociologists place themselves behind their respective desks and proceed to talk of their world. It is a world of concepts, categories, facts, events, personages, and relationships absorbed, for the most part, from the printed page, and arranged in a more or less orderly fashion. There is talk of social change, of institutions, of taboos among the Polynesians, of what Herbert Spencer thought about ancestor worship, of mana, animism, decline of supernaturalism, culture lag, and of social attitudes. To the gentleman behind the desk it is important to distinguish between animism and animatism and between culture evolution and culture change. At periodic intervals the sociologists retire from the world with thousands of quiz books, blue, yellow, and brown, to seek hopefully for unusually acute guesses as to what propositions a particular sociologist regards as true.

On the other side of the desk there is a different world with a different content and different values. Many sociologists who take their world a little less seriously or who are serious in a slightly different way feel at times a sense of futility and of being separated from their audiences by an invisible barrier. There are some who have grown curious concerning the stu-

dent's world and have sought to convert it into a realm of "sociological data." Leuba,<sup>1</sup> Bain,<sup>2</sup> Tozzer,<sup>3</sup> Conklin,<sup>4</sup> Angell,<sup>5</sup> and others have adopted various technics in their effort to obtain a glimpse into the student's world with its own pattern of ideas, values, and problems.<sup>6</sup>

The writer makes no claim to have penetrated to an unusual degree into the student's world nor does he pretend to any novel or epoch-making pedagogical discovery. There does seem reason to think, however, that the student can be led to the wider and more abstract realm of sociological thought by encouragement of student observation and research in regard to data which lies within the student's own sphere of interest. As a substitute for the assignment of book reports or papers tending to be a mere rehash of what had been read in the library, a list of about 50

<sup>1</sup> J. Leuba, *The Belief in God and Immortality*. Chicago. Open Court Publishing Co., Ed. 2, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Reed Bain, *Religious Attitudes of College Students*. *Am. Jour. Soc.*, xxxii: 5: March, 1927 pp. 762-770.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*. New York, The MacMillan Co., 1925.

<sup>4</sup> E. S. Conklin, *Superstitious Belief and Practice Among College Students*. *Am. Jour. Psychol.*, xxx, (Jan.) 1919, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> R. C. Angell, *A Study of Undergraduate Adjustment*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> See the writer's *Religion in Human Affairs*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1929, pp. 323-333, for summary of results of certain studies.

research topics was presented to each student in certain sociology classes at the University of Pennsylvania. The majority of these topics required first hand observation and the collection of data, on the basis of experience in their own social environment. Brief verbal suggestions concerning each project were made in class by the writer and each student made a choice according to his own interests. Some projects were worked out as survey or observational studies, others utilized a formal statistical method, while the third group employed the case method and yielded results in terms of more or less illuminating case histories. All of the projects here discussed have to do in some way with the study of religion as a social institution.

It is not difficult to find limitations and defects in the work thus produced. Sceptics hardened by long academic experience may suspect that some of the data was simply concocted out of the student's imagination as an easy way of meeting an unpleasant requirement. The writer admits this possibility but does not believe that it took place. Certainly the lack of training of the students in the technique of research was painfully apparent. On the other hand, it was interesting to note valuable results yielded by untrained common sense in contrast to worthless or meaningless data collected by less intelligent students with ill digested statistical training. The verbal reactions of the students were all to the effect that they considered the time expended well worth while.

## II

In the first group of studies, of the survey or observational type, there were some interesting reports upon missions and revivals which had been attended for the purpose of observation, also studies from

newspaper sources of survivals of magic and witchcraft in modern culture. Still more illuminating, however, were papers based on observation of superstitions among college students. An athlete interviewed some twenty fellow students including, scholars, athletes, "social" men, and a miscellaneous group, with the result that 16, or 80 per cent of the group, were found to have superstitions of some kind. One student "never sings or whistles before breakfast because he will not receive any mail from home or from his sweetheart that day or the next." To a student more interested in social affairs it is unlucky to shine his shoes after getting dressed. A brother student regarded as a scholar by the investigator carries any money that he finds but never spends it. He now carries twenty-eight dollars in his pocket which he will not spend no matter how badly he needs it. The investigator is evidently in a position to be in sympathy with the beliefs of his fellow students. "Before trying a somersault dismount from the horizontal bar, he always tosses a pen-knife in the air which describes the same sort of movement as that of his body. If it does not land on the point of the blade that particular trick will not be attempted." For the twenty students the average number of superstitions was about 1.65.

A very prominent athlete made a similar informal observational survey of superstitions among campus leaders including fellow athletes, and found further evidence of the ancient partnership between uncertainty and superstition. A Phi Beta Kappa ballplayer confided to him, "If the bat-boy crosses my bats before a game I won't use them. I always think we win a game because I've asked some member of the infield about the probable outcome; if we don't win I know I've asked the wrong man. It would be foolish for me to write

an exam in ink; I stay away from instructors who wear eye-glasses. And believe it or not, I take care not to cross my legs while writing an exam—I flunked one in high school while writing in just that position." A class president admitted that he could not feel comfortable in an exam unless he had a certain tie on that he has been wearing for the past four years.

An All-American half-back of excellent intelligence reveals superstitions of the type which are common among athletes. "I must chew a certain brand of gum and I must relieve myself of the cud before the fourth quarter of the game begins. To lace my left shoe before my right would indicate bad luck in the game. I am always careful not to do it." The name of a certain track man has appeared in large letters on the sport page. In response to the questions of our athlete sociologist he replied: "I went through every event with a shirt that was my most precious pet. It had never been washed. If someone had stolen the shirt I would not have won a race." A varsity pitcher is at one with the mass of humanity in seeking aid from luck, "The Silent Partner." "I'll sleep in lower seven or, I won't take the trip. I wouldn't pitch unless I had my dirty worn sweatshirt. I'm afraid to face the day when that shirt wears out."

Thus there is granted a glimpse of facts which render unnecessary recourse to the more venerable anthropological anecdotes and citations. Most practices described fit into a simple classification of the forms of magic.<sup>7</sup>

Another observational study of religious rather than magical attitudes among college students, contains some interesting comments. "They have a faith that I call 'College Religion.' By this term I mean the sort of coma that a student drifts into

when he gets to college. It is a sort of religion of convenience. If you have nothing better to do on a Sunday, you will drop into Church, listen half heartedly to the sermon, then write Mother you attended services. But if something should turn up, that is the least bit important, Church will have to wait, until it suits your convenience. To these members of the 'College Sect' God is somewhat of a hazy object. When first entering school many of the students attend service every Sunday for a few weeks, but after certain courses they lose these tendencies and their religious life becomes less and less important. . . . With proper understanding of one another, neither a God nor a religion is necessary. Life is short and after death we are dust, so why not live life to the fullest. As one author has stated, 'Eat, drink, and be merry for to-morrow ye may die,' so why not enjoy life to the fullest extent?" One cannot but wonder, of course as to how much of this comment is based upon reading of what outsiders have written concerning the religion of the college student or, if completely based on observation, how typical his group of friends and associates may be of the entire student body. One or two brilliant apologies for religion, albeit in the manner of Gilbert Chesterton, which the present writer has received from students bespeak a rather lively intellectual interest in religion on the part of certain individuals.

Certainly there is reason to think that students are sufficiently interested in religion to show religious prejudice. A Gentile student writing on religious prejudice in the college states; "The Jew at the University of — is never really accepted. There is a feeling against this race, generally, but at — it is emphasized. Few Jews ever make honor societies. That is, if a Christian and a Jew were both up for election with approximately the same

<sup>7</sup> See the writer's *Religion in Human Affairs*, pp. 120-132.

credits, there would be no doubt as to the outcome of the election. In what is known as the cleanest competition on the campus—one to which election is based solely on ability—no Jews are elected." He tells further of a fraternity which broke up because of friction between Protestants and Catholics and of the concern on the part of fraternities in looking up the religion of those who are to be rushed. It is his opinion that there is a marked tendency to select friends of both sexes from the same religious group and that many students graduate embittered in some degree by the prejudice which they have encountered.

### III

Certain of the students attempted studies of the second type mentioned, namely studies making some use of the statistical method. Two or three of these students were teachers and subjected persons outside the university to questioning. One superintendent of schools submitted a questionnaire on superstition to 101 fourth and fifth grade pupils in a suburb of Philadelphia. The results are interesting since the children would feel less under pressure to admit superstitious beliefs than to subscribe to conventional religious dogmas. The children were asked to check statements which they thought correct. Some 76 per cent checked as correct the proposition, "Thirteen people at a table is bad luck." About 86 per cent agreed that, "If a black cat runs across your path something bad will happen." The statement, "If a dog howls outside your house someone will die," was checked by 40 per cent. The common superstition in regard to Friday the 13th was checked by 77 per cent. Only 38 per cent thought it bad luck to meet a cross-eyed woman. The proposition that, "If you wish something evil to happen to someone, it will happen,"

was checked by 32 per cent and the statement, "It is bad to be out at midnight, something will get you" by 36 per cent. The average of the percentage beliefs on each of the twenty statements was 54 per cent.

A number of sociology students set out to discover the views on future life, among various samples of twenty to fifty college students. In a group of 25 students, 48 per cent believed in an immortal soul, in a group of 28, 64 per cent believed in a life after death. A religious athlete was surprised to find that 42 per cent of his fellows disbelieved in any kind of a hereafter. Another student found that of 35 students in his classes 25 per cent believed in a hell of fire and brimstone. In a sample of 30 students, 43 per cent believed in a hell of some kind, while in a sample of 25, 33 per cent believed in retribution after death. According to another study, of 14 freshman, 57 per cent believed in a literal hell; of 12 sophomores, 25 per cent; of 12 juniors, 58 per cent; and of 12 seniors, only 9 per cent. In another sample of 25, only 16 per cent believed in the Biblical hell.

In regard to attitudes towards organized religion there was also considerable variation in the results obtained from various samples. In a study of 30 students it was found that 27 were church members, joining on the average at 13 years of age, and that 22 of these would join if faced with the decision again. There is the suggestion that the joining would not be an intellectual choice, for only 11 out of the 27 knew the doctrines of their church. In another sample of 25 students, 84 per cent said that they did not go to church, while in a group of 50 only 16 per cent were regular in their church attendance. In a study of 28 students there was a more objective formulation of this question and the average church attendance a year was estimated as 17. A comparable estimate

of average frequency of church attendance by 25 students was 24.

In regard to studies of belief in God the results showed equal variation. One investigator found that in a sample of 20 students, 75 per cent believed in a supreme being. Another found among 25 students, 33 per cent who believed in a personal God and an equal number who believed in some power which might be called God. Of another group of 25 students, 72 per cent answered "yes" to the question, "Do you believe in a God?" In another sample of the same size 88 per cent answered this question in the affirmative. A more careful study of 50 students defined God as "an Almighty Supreme Being, creator of everything, and possessed of supernatural powers. The power of this being is to be revered and worshipped and his wrath to be feared. He is a good God, kind and forgiving." While not quite consistent, this is a picture of a personal God. The general percentage of belief was 86 per cent, and, for approximately equal class groups, the belief ranged from 93 per cent for freshman and 100 per cent for sophomores to 75 per cent for both juniors and seniors.

By far the most interesting study was one which indicated no small amount of critical intelligence applied to the questionnaire method. It was entirely original save for a slight hint offered in class. "The subjects for my experiments were my own fraternity brothers. I chose them as subjects for a two-fold reason. I believed I understood them better than an ordinary stranger and consequently would be more able to comprehend their actions and secondly because I really felt they would be entirely frank with me. I did not want any dress parade answers. Twenty fraternity brothers were included in my observations. The question asked was, "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?"

To this question 15 replied "no" and 5 "yes," or only 25 per cent belief. . . . Two nights later I paid the houseman enough to bribe him over to my bidding. It was 11 p.m. when I gathered together the boys in my room this time. Suddenly as pre-arranged but without the knowledge of the subjects the lights went out. I made the atmosphere as eerie as possible and then barked out my question. The results were surprising. Four subjects replied, "no" and 16 "yes," under these circumstances 80 per cent belief. . . . After reading the results of these two experiments how can anyone judge the religion of this country on the basis of statistics? In the first experiment the chaps were apparently more bold in daylight but with a dark atmosphere they hastened to deceive a God with their beliefs in a childish way. Which is their real belief is difficult to say. . . . I won't go so far as to say my results were typical of the average college man because I don't believe they included enough subjects. However, it has given rise to an interesting speculation on my part. I am becoming more of the opinion every day that among the college men there is a double standard of religion. It is the mode now to be sophisticated which in more brutal language signifies hard-boiled. Consequently to impress his hearers he becomes an atheist. . . . That is his attitude in front of an awe-inspired audience. But within and to himself I am afraid that this showy individual professes belief in a Supreme Being. He is really afraid and despite his caution among associates it invariably creeps out at times." It would appear that not all the wisdom is to be found on one side of the classroom desk.

By way of illustrating the danger in assuming a correlation to mean a causal relationship and to raise questions concerning religion and social control, the

writer presented in his classes certain facts derived from his own statistical investigation. (1) There is a correlation of  $-.64 \pm .06$  between the percentage of Methodist Episcopal church members in 1926 in the white populations of the various states according to the census of 1920 and the median Army Alpha scores of recruits from the 41 states which had at least 500 soldiers tested. (2) There is a correlation of  $-.67 \pm .05$  between Methodist membership as defined above and the rank of the 48 states as to the Ayres Index of Educational efficiency. (3) There is a correlation of  $-.67 \pm .05$  between Methodist membership in the various states and the number of the 2,000 leading scientists resident in 1910 in the states per 1,000,000 population in 1900.<sup>8</sup> (4) There is a correlation of  $-.33 \pm .08$  between Methodist membership and the number of persons listed in *Who's Who in America* resident in the various states per 100,000 whites in 1920. (5) There is a correlation of  $-.67 \pm .05$  between Methodist membership and the per capita wealth of the various states in 1922.<sup>9</sup> (6) There is a correlation of  $+.44 \pm .09$  between Methodist membership and the number of homicides of whites in 1925 per 100,000 white population in the various states in 1920. (7) There is a correlation of  $+.69 \pm .05$  between Methodist membership and the percentage of illiteracy in the various states of the native white population in 1920. (8) There is a correlation of  $+.59 \pm .06$  between Methodist membership as defined above and the number of mental defectives among recruits resident in the various states per 100,000 native white males 20-44 years of age in 1920.<sup>10</sup> (9) There is

a correlation of  $+.54 \pm .07$  between Methodism and the number of lynchings in the various states per 100,000 white population of 1920, during the period 1882 to 1927.<sup>11</sup>

Certain of these facts raised the question in the mind of one student as to whether the more emotional denominations would be found associated with illiteracy to a greater extent as compared with those less emotional. Unfortunately he was not moved to make a distinction between white and colored populations. As might be expected he found a correlation of Baptist membership, in the various states with illiteracy, of  $+.63$ , and for Methodist membership and illiteracy a coefficient of  $+.51$ . Presbyterians and Unitarians were chosen as denominations of a more intellectual type. Presbyterian membership correlated with illiteracy so as to yield a coefficient of  $-.16$ , while the correlation between Unitarian membership and illiteracy was  $-.002$ .

Two other students were moved to study the contribution of the various denominations to the names listed in *Who's Who in America*. One of these students selected every sixth name from the front, middle, and back portion of the volume until he had a sample of 436 names and then noted the percentage of the sample belonging to the various denominations. The Congregationalists contributed 5.6 times their quota of names, the Episcopalians 5.2 times their quota, the Presbyterians 4.4 times their quota, the Unitarians 3.85 times their quota, the Methodists 1.3 times their quota, the Baptists 0.8 times their quota, the Disciples of Christ 0.2 of their quota, the Lutherans .17 of their quota, and the Catholics 0.15 of their quota. In the

<sup>8</sup> J. M. Cattell, *American Men of Science*. Ed. 2, p. 585.

<sup>9</sup> *World Almanac*. 1930, p. 295.

<sup>10</sup> P. Bailey and R. Haber. *Mental Deficiency. Mental Hygiene*, iv, no. 3, (July) 1920, pp. 564-596.

<sup>11</sup> Walter White. *Rope and Faggot*. New York, Knopf, 1929, pp. 234-235.

second study 343 names were analyzed with similar results.<sup>12</sup>

Another interesting study investigated the relationship between intelligence and intensity of religious belief.<sup>13</sup> A list of twenty questions was prepared, an affirmative answer to each indicating belief in some important doctrine or function of religion. Five points toward the total religion score were allowed for each affirmative answer. Names were chosen at random, two men and two women being selected for each letter of the alphabet in the address lists of the College of Science, Art and Literature, and the Agricultural College. There were 60 students in the A. C. group and 69 in the S. L. A. group. The intelligence test score for each student was obtained from the college files and the intelligence scores and the religion scores correlated with each other. The correlation for the academic students was found to be  $-.25 \pm .07$  for the agricultural students  $-.22 \pm .08$ .

Finally mention may be made of a very interesting study by a Jewish student of the deviation between the religious observances of Jewish students and their parents. In general the 27 families studied showed little tendency for a deviation or breaking away in the second generation when the parents were born in this country. When the parents were born in Europe, however, there was a tendency to less rigid observance of holidays and dietary restrictions on the part of their offspring. The assimilation process seems to proceed most rapidly in the first generation of native born Jews and then to reach an equilibrium.

<sup>12</sup> The results were fairly close at least in their implications to those of the comprehensive study made by Huntington and Whitney, *The Builders of America*. New York, Morrow, 1927, pp. 342-343.

<sup>13</sup> This study was made by Sarah Stone and Gladys Meehl at the University of Minnesota.

The third type of project consisted of case histories often concerned with the student's own religious experience. Many of these are quite revealing and give the impression of sincerity but are too long to be presented here.

#### IV

It is not difficult to raise objections to the project method and to its results. (1) It may be argued that lack of training on the part of the students causes them to work too blindly even for pedagogical benefit and that they collect useless material in a futile fashion. Certainly many students gain nothing but that is true according to any method and the better students do profit from their mistakes as revealed in class discussion. (2) Again it may be suggested that a common group project would yield much better results and lessen overlapping and waste of energy. There is some point to this claim but, on the other hand, it would mean a less perfect adaptation of the work to the individual's interest and experience. (3) Disillusioned teachers may suggest that the student is not reacting wholeheartedly or spontaneously but is playing a rôle and turning in the kind of thing which he thinks is desired. Certainly this tendency is not increased, and the variety of attitudes expressed and of research results obtained weigh against this claim. (4) Finally it may be asserted that while the project method here illustrated is justifiable from a pedagogical point of view, it is as naïve to present the results as scientific data as it would be for a chemist to publish the results of informal experimentation with explosives and bad smells on the part of freshman students. Certainly the writer would claim little for the results here presented in view of the errors in sampling, the small number of cases studied and the scientific ignorance of

most of the investigators, nor does he feel that the massing of bad and non-comparable data has any special cumulative value. On the other hand, the standards of contemporary sociology are not those of chemistry and the proportion of statements resting on research of any kind is none too high.

As to the merits of the project method and its results, certain suggestions may be made. (1) The attitudes of students toward sociology seem to be modified in a way that many teachers would regard as desirable. There tends to be a less passive attitude, a greater respect for facts and the conclusions based on facts, less contempt for sociology as a mere collection of words and diverse opinions and finally an inquiring rather than an authority-seeking attitude. (2) It may be further suggested that the teacher-pupil relationship tends to be improved. There is better rapport, the barrier that separates the two sides of the desk is less marked and the class-room situation tends to be coöperative rather

than coercive. (3) From the point of view of the non-pedagogical scientific study of student attitudes rather than that of pedagogy certain claims may be ventured. The attitudes of an in-group are not easy to study by an outsider. Here certainly the members of the group tend to assume a special rôle. Therefore while a sociologist should not rely in general upon questionable research work of students, the investigation of the attitudes of a student in-group can often be best carried out by a member of the group even though poorly trained. While perhaps looking for certain things the student investigator has at least an *entre* and is in a better position to recognize lack of frankness and to obtain coöperation. (4) Finally it may be suggested, again from the point of view of the results of such research, that the variety and non-comparability of samples throws light upon the variation of attitudes between subgroups and upon the common beliefs which give them solidarity.

#### COMMONWEALTH FUND FELLOWS

Twenty-five British students have been selected by the British committee of award, of which the Prince of Wales is honorary chairman, to spend the next two years in the United States as guests of the Commonwealth Fund. According to an announcement by the Fund, these men and women are the ninth group of Commonwealth Fund Fellows to come to this country under a plan initiated by Edward S. Harkness, president of the Fund, to promote understanding between Great Britain and the United States. More than 200 students from Great Britain and the British Empire have already had this experience, which includes two years of graduate study and a summer of travel.

Most of the appointees are recent graduates of British and Dominion universities. Three, however, are men of maturer years who already hold technical positions under some government in the British Empire. These "Service Fellows" come for research and observation of American methods rather than for formal academic study, and have this year chosen Harvard, Colorado School of Mines, and the University of Chicago as centers from which to carry on their researches. The other twenty-two Fellows have planned a variety of studies at the following universities: University of California, University of Chicago, Columbia University, Harvard University, University of Illinois, Johns Hopkins University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, University of Pittsburgh, Princeton University, Rockefeller Institute, University of Wisconsin, Yale University.

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### OUR HALTING CRIMINAL STATISTICS

HARRY BEST

*University of Kentucky*

OVER and over in our land the cry goes forth that we do not know how much crime we have with us. We do not even know whether we have, or have had, a crime wave. We are not sure whether crime is mounting in the United States. We cannot tell what kinds of crime we are getting the better of; we cannot say what kinds of crime are getting the better of us.

We do know how many hogs there are on our farms; we know the acreage, production, and value of fruits and nuts; we know how many farms are in the hands of tenants, and how many are mortgaged; we know the extent and the value of leather goods manufactured in our country, and of stone, clay, and glass products; we know the prevailing hours of labor in different industries; we know how much coal and how much oil we get out of the earth; we know the quantity of goods of different sorts we send to foreign countries, and the quantity we get from them; we know how many persons are engaged in different forms of gainful occupation, and their age and sex and marital condition; we know how many children are in attendance at school, and what part of the population is unable to read or write. We

know all this, and a great deal more, thanks to the painstaking care of an intelligent Government.

Despite all the vast and abundant statistical information in all sorts of fields of human endeavor in America, we find that in the matter of crime our certain knowledge is highly circumscribed, and that our ignorance is far-reaching. With respect to it the most we can do is to set down the things about it which we do not know. We are aware, it is true, how many prisoners we have behind bars—we can count noses and find out. But beyond this we can hardly go.

How many offenses or "crimes" are actually committed we do not know at all. We do not even have any idea. Some crimes committed are not even known to the police. Some are known only to the doer or to his victim. Many crimes known to the police get no further. The occurrence of a large number is soon forgotten. Every day in our large cities sees new material added to our catalogue of "unsolved crimes." Some of the more important ones become "mysteries."

The number of imprisoned offenders represents only a limited proportion of active offenders—in fact, rather a select

group. It gives, first of all, no hint as to the number of offenders who have not been caught up with by the law. How many there are of these we can only conjecture. We may believe that those most likely to escape the net of the law are the sharp, the clever, the slick, the crafty, or those who are cool or calculating or experienced. The opposite sort are the more often discovered in its toils—those who are less bright or are awkward or bungling in their operations, or are new at the criminal game (not infrequently first offenders who have succumbed or fallen into temptation and are at heart of little actual criminal nature). The more obtuse and witless of the criminally inclined are also the more likely in their movements to run afoul of the law a second time, or a third time, or a tenth time. Hence is swelled the number of their kind who are found behind bars.

Furthermore, to add to our confusion upon the subject, the same offender often commits more than one crime; he commits a series of crimes. Some who commit crimes do so only as an occasional or part time occupation. Some, finally, who commit crime do so in organized bands, acting in reasoned, systematic fashion, perhaps under some master hand—making their detection and conquest by the law a highly difficult thing.

It is always to be borne in mind that with the criminal there reside certain definite advantages which magnify the difficulties of the officers of the law in apprehending him. His attack is sudden and unexpected; his line of action is known only to himself; the time and place for striking are of his choosing; in our masses of population, with quick means of locomotion at hand, his escape from the scene of his criminal operations is no less easy than his approach thereto.

We have no assurance as to the extent

of the operations of the "fence," whose ways are dark and devious. We know that his operations must be considerable—the larger part of stolen goods are not recovered for their original owners.

We do not know, we can only surmise, how much of crime is due to that peculiar contrivance of modern times, the automobile, when the cool, desperate criminal is at his worst. We know enough to be sure that the amount is great.

Of the amount of crime that is of organized character, the amount committed by the gangster, the amount committed by the racketeer, the amount committed by the professional criminal, the amount committed by the hired mercenary, we have little statistical evidence. How much crime owes its origin and perpetuation to crooked politics or to crooked business—of this we are likewise ignorant.

We have no complete figures to indicate the extent of recidivism. What statistics we have relate to those actually placed in prison (and we do not have complete identification records as to these). How many crimes an offender may have committed before he runs up against the law we of course do not know. Nor have we better knowledge as to the number of offenses that may have been committed by him between prison terms.

With respect to the various factors, conditions, circumstances, and situations that have part in making the criminal what he is, such as are subject to statistical treatment, we have very little in the way of wide or extensive statistics—though we have fairly trustworthy statistics with regard to some of the characteristics and conditions of that part of the criminal population which is in prison. We have also an increasing number of good case studies as to conditions and factors in the causation of crime.

As to the financial costs of crime we are

in little better way. We can ascertain the costs of police departments, of penal and correctional institutions, of the criminal courts, of probation and parole administration. We can likewise calculate the loss in earning power to a part of the population from its confinement in prison. We can also make estimates to suit ourselves as to losses from various forms of crime, as fraud, burglary, robbery, and so on. Beyond such figures as we have and beyond such estimates as we are free to make, our path is barred to the discovery of anything like an adequate statement of the monetary costs of crime.

Of such unsatisfactory character and in such unsatisfactory shape are our statistics as to crime that we cannot definitely tell whether or not crime is increasing, or what forms of it are increasing or decreasing. We have records, it is true, of the number of imprisoned offenders, and we can measure their ratio to the general population at different years; but, as we have seen, the number of offenders in prison bears but limited relation to the total number of offenders.

We are not in a more enlightened state when we come to consider the number of offenders against the law who have been arrested and have been let off without sentence or conviction. Even if we had more certain knowledge upon these matters, we should be far from knowing the full extent of criminal activity. We should still be ignorant of the part played by the energy and the zeal, or by the general efficiency, of the police and the prosecuting officials; of the part played by the court in its determinations; of the part played by social attitudes in different communities as to crime and law enforcement. We have relatively limited statistical knowledge as to the use of non-institutional methods of treatment—fining, probation, parole.

For the country as a whole we have no information as to the number of arrests for crime, the number of cases thrown out at the preliminary examination or by the prosecuting officer, the number held to grand jury, the number indicted, the number tried, the number convicted, and the number sentenced; we have information only for certain communities, chiefly for a particular period of time. The number charged with crime but actually innocent we likewise do not know.

We are quite aware that not a few offenders who are haled before the court by the police or peace officers drop by the way, and get off, in the long, tortuous process from arrest to sentence. At the preliminary examination the magistrate or police judge has much power, as cases may be thrown out for lack of ground for holding or for other reason, while in some instances the charge may be reduced from a higher to a lower one. Grand juries may fail to indict. Juries may fail to convict. The prosecuting officer has wide powers throughout in dismissing cases which he does not wish to prosecute or which he feels cannot be successfully prosecuted.

We have almost no figures upon probation and parole, especially such as will indicate aggregates, or such as can be used for comparative purposes. Only in two or three states can we find any figures as to trends in the matter. We have practically no statistical evidence of the eventual effects or results of either probation or parole. After the ending of the period involved, we have to confess inability to declare what proportion turn out well and what proportion turn out ill. Trustworthy statistical data upon many of the essential matters relating to crime are thus largely wanting in the United States.

But the nadir in our dearth of criminal

statistics may be regarded as having been reached. Better things are undoubtedly in store for us. The people of the United States are slowly coming to realize that they must have wider and more reliable statistical information with regard to the crime in their midst. This changing attitude is especially being promoted by the investigations of what happens to the offender at various stages of the criminal process in certain areas of our country. Already notable surveys have been made in the States of Missouri, New York, Illinois, Minnesota, and Virginia, and in such cities as Cleveland, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Boston. Most of these investigations have been conducted by private hands, though with a few by some public body. Though the territory involved and the period of time covered have been very restricted, these investigations have thrown no small light upon the problem, and have proved conclusively what great help lies for us in reliable criminal statistics. From some of these surveys in general we have secured some very illuminating material upon our proceedings in dealing with the criminal before the courts. From what may be regarded as a fair average, or as a mean between higher and lower figures, in the communities affected, we learn that of cases of felonies committed about one-half result in arrests; about one-fourth are passed on to the grand jury; about one-fifth are indicted; about one-eighth are convicted; and about one-tenth are sentenced. Of cases of arrests one-half are dismissed at the preliminary examination; one-half are acted upon by the grand jury; one-fourth are convicted; and one-fifth are sentenced.

In other respects our criminal statistics are already showing improvement, and are becoming of a widening range. In a few States (notably Massachusetts) creditable efforts are being made to secure

reliable statistics as to crime within their borders, including statistics on such matters as probation or parole. In a few cities (notably Baltimore) there are private bodies which periodically collect and publish statistics with regard to criminal procedure. In 1930 the larger cities of this country began the collection of certain criminal statistics, first under the auspices of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (aided by private funds), and now under the direction of a bureau of the Federal Department of Justice. From this in time some notable results may be expected. Special value will lie in the securing of standardization and uniformity of statistics.

The reports by the Federal Census Bureau, some now appearing annually, on the number of prisoners in prison, the number committed under different forms of sentence, the length of their stay in prison, the methods of their discharge, etc., as well as occasional reports of wider compass, including reports on the condition and characteristics of the prison population, are of a high order. With time the matter of these reports will probably be further developed. They are prepared by very able and very careful statisticians.

In addition, some excellent statistical studies are made at intervals by the Federal Children's Bureau with regard to youthful offenders appearing before juvenile courts in some of our larger cities, the nature of the charges brought against them, the means of the disposal of their cases, etc. This work, though still in its infancy, and largely still in a sense but feeling its way, has great potential values. From ex-President Hoover's Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement some very important data have also been secured.

The Federal Government has only commenced the work of the collection and

organization of criminal statistics. It is the logical agency for the entire country, and into its hands should local and State statistics be centered. It can help vastly in securing standardization and uniformity of statistics, and better record keeping in general, something now so badly needed. It can become a great clearing house of information for all parts of the country. It may eventually secure statistics not only as to imprisoned offenders, but as to all cases brought to the attention of officers of the law, and the methods of disposal of such cases—what happens to them at various stages of criminal procedure. There is still need on the part of the public of better understanding and better appreciation of criminal statistics, as well as of the workings of our criminal procedure.

Eventually criminal statistics will have

equally as high a place in our regard, and will be accepted as of equal necessity, with present "vital" statistics, or statistics dealing with births, deaths, or marriages, and with other matters in the field of human concern, especially those relating to social well-being, the worth of which has proved so great.

With better and fuller criminal statistics ever increasing standardization and uniformity may be looked for as well in our methods of treating our criminals, including perhaps the making of our criminal laws. When criminal statistics are of the nature they should be, and have the value placed upon them they should have, we shall really be in position to make some sort of measure of the extent of crime; and our hands will be strengthened in corresponding degree in knowledge as to how to proceed in dealing with it.

## DOES IMMIGRATION INCREASE CRIME?

DONALD R. TAFT

*University of Illinois*

DISCUSSIONS of the relationship between immigration and crime involve three different questions, which seem at times to have been confused: (1) Does immigration increase crime? (2) If so, why? Or in other words, what are the adjustment difficulties which are somewhat peculiar to the immigrant? (3) Are immigrants "to blame" for their crimes?

The first of these questions is significant, of course, for the determination of a national or even an international migration policy. Such a policy may well be dependent upon the answers to many other and more important questions. Perhaps we want more immigrants even though they have complicated our crime problem;

and possibly the nationalities which have found adjustment most difficult are precisely the ones which have made the largest cultural contribution. Yet we clearly need to know through unprejudiced study the effect of migration on crime; the relative effects of different nationalities, and of different elements within a nationality. We also need to know the indirect effect through the behavior of the children of immigrants. And if possible we must distinguish between immediate and long-time effects, which may be different or even opposite. But for the answer to this question we do not particularly care *why* immigrants commit crimes. They may be driven by the force of circumstances beyond their con-

trol. But if they increase crime, they increase crime.

But the second question is of interest to students of assimilation and for practical programs of assistance or control of migrants. It, too, is somewhat independent of the first question. Whether the foreign born are more or less delinquent than are natives, we need to promote their adjustment intelligently.

The third question—the question of “blame” does not, of course, concern the social scientist. For the concept of responsibility disappears, when the explanation of behavior is complete. If the immigrant is shown to have handicaps to adjustment sufficiently great, then the possible excess of his crime record over that of the native can be explained. If, indeed, our analysis of the peculiar situation of the immigrant is complete, it should leave us with the picture of an hypothetical alien who is the exact counterpart of the native with whom we compare him. In that case the foreigner is not to “blame.” Verily under the stress of his unusual status he could not help but have a criminal record in excess of that of the native-born.

It is clear that ignorance and prejudice have not allowed the “man on the street” to make such a complete analysis. He therefore blames the immigrant. He dislikes and fears some forms of crime, even if they fascinate him. He seeks a not-too-painful explanation—an explanation as remote as possible from himself. That crime is a by-product of a complex culture of which he himself is a part, he cannot and he does not wish to see. He seeks a villain to hate and mayhap to execute. Just as mental stress produced by the Great War was partially relieved by attributing it to the enemy—always an alien—and by personifying the problem in the figure of the Kaiser, so the fear produced

by crime results in a desire to blame it on the alien, and to personify the “cause” for all crimes in the figure of a man with a foreign-sounding name like Al Capone. The alien is by definition different. The propaganda of nationalism has exaggerated that difference. He therefore must must be bad; he must be the cause of crime. To deny that immigration increases crime, or to explain the crimes of immigrants, displeases this “man on the street,” for it acquits his scapegoat of guilt and mayhap seems to imply that he himself is an accomplice.

Given the intense nationalism of today, such anti-alien prejudice is natural if deplorable. It was therefore an achievement for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickesham Commission) to have demonstrated that the popular view of the rôle of the immigrant in crime is grossly exaggerated if not altogether erroneous. But there is such a thing as pro-alien bias. The settlement worker and the case worker with migrants seem at times in danger of developing a sentimental interest in their protégés which may blind them to facts even superficially unfavorable to them. The present writer feels himself more inclined to this bias than to its opposite. He has wondered whether the Wickesham report referred to above, may not have been thus influenced in interpreting some of its findings. At least such an assumption might help account for an apparent paradox in the report.

In Sections VIII to XII of Part II of the Report,<sup>1</sup> Miss Bowler has accumulated much evidence of the handicaps under which immigrants seek adjustment to the American environment. The following list, though not taken from her chapters,

<sup>1</sup> National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. No. 10. Report on Crime and the Foreign Born. 1931.

presents a similar argument. The student of crime finds that it is largely a phenomenon of youth, and he knows that immigrants on arrival are predominantly young. He knows that males are more often arrested than females, and that immigrants at most periods have been predominantly males. He finds more crime in cities than in rural districts and he also finds proportionately more immigrants there. He suspects that poverty-stricken laborers are proportionately more criminal than men of the higher economic classes, and he knows that the majority of immigrants were formerly laborers. He finds the adjustment of rural dwellers to urban life a difficult task, and he sees that the European peasant who migrates has usually had to make such an adjustment. He notes among certain nationalities habits and mores which are disliked here, or which might lead to crime in almost any culture—such as the habit of carrying weapons, or the institution of the blood feud, or the attitude that it is a manly virtue to show jealousy at the slightest familiarity with one's wife or daughter. He sees crime resulting from gang battles, and he notes that these battles are sometimes between national groups which reproduce on the sidewalks of New York and in the slums of Chicago, the national animosities between Italian and Slav, or Pole and Jew. He knows that that ignorance of the law, while no legal defense for crime, is a frequent cause of maladjustment and crime; and he finds the immigrant relatively ignorant of the laws, morals, and conventions which characterize the communities where he settles.

The student of immigration also studies the migrant in his own home. He sees him living a simple life and then entering a very complex life abroad. Moreover, he sees him in a peasant community hedged about by intimate primary group

controls in the form of approved patterns of behavior enforced by gossip, ridicule, and other effective agencies which exist there in a much more rigid form than in even the more stable American communities. He sees these controls functioning in familial, religious, and neighborhood groups among European peasants, and then largely left behind upon emigration.<sup>2</sup> He finds crime-preventing primary group controls almost completely absent in American slums where many immigrants are at least temporarily resident. Finally, he notes that the adjustment problem of the foreign-born is as nothing compared with that of their children. For it is universally apparent that the child of the immigrant—at least of immigrants bringing old world cultures most at variance with that of America—is subjected to mental conflicts through the clash of varying approved patterns of behavior, especially those of his family versus those of school and play group. This clash breaks down respect for the old patterns and produces a certain moral anarchy or an anti-social gang morality before American patterns are fully accepted.

By presenting an argument somewhat similar to the above Miss Bowler makes it very clear that the immigrant has a serious adjustment problem—that he therefore *should be* more criminal than the native. But in spite of all this Miss Bowler finds the immigrant much *less* criminal than the native. In spite of all the reasons why he should be bad, he persists in being good. We read<sup>3</sup> that Miss Bowler's statistics "lead her to the conclusion that in proportion to their respective numbers, the foreign-born commit considerably fewer crimes than the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. I. Thomas, and Florian Znaniecki. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. *Op. cit.*, p. 400.

native-born." Referring to Chicago specifically it is stated<sup>4</sup> that "during recent years, 1925-1929, the foreign-born in Chicago were convicted only about one-third as often as the native white, and but slightly more than one-third as often were convictions against them registered in the misdemeanor field." Considered in the light of the above list of handicaps, the study seems to prove too much. Or are we to infer that the processes of migration select a type of immigrant inherently so angelic that it can meet the most criminogenic influences and yet remain relatively law-abiding as compared with the native-born? Here, at least, we have a paradox.

Let us examine some of the possible explanations of this paradox.

(1) In the first place we must note one possible explanation entirely consistent with Miss Bowler's contention that immigrants are peculiarly law-abiding people. Many immigrants have lived in ghettos. The isolation and primary group controls of some types of ghettos no doubt tend to prevent crime. By retarding culture conflict and over-rapid "Americanization" and by preserving the old world agencies of control, the ghetto prevents crime. The writer ventures no guess as to what proportion of immigrants have lived in ghettos and what proportion in the heterogeneous slum where criminogenic conditions predominate.

(2) A second explanation is entirely consistent with the findings of the study interpreted literally, but not apparently with its spirit. In the Commission's report foreign-born are compared with native-born. Children of the foreign-born are included among the native-born. If the generally accepted view is correct, that the children of immigrants are peculiarly criminal, then the foreign-born would

appear relatively stable by comparison. In other words, to measure the effect of immigration on crime, immigrants and their children should perhaps be compared with the rest of the population. I say "perhaps" because this procedure would obviously not isolate crime due to immigration from crime due to conditions under which the children of immigrants live—conditions some of which might have been present among the "old stock" if they, instead of immigrants and their children, had had to do the unskilled work. The general conclusion of the Wickersham report on this matter is expressed in negative rather than positive terms: "There is insufficient information available to warrant any deductions as to the criminal activity among the native born of foreign parentage as compared with those of native parentage."<sup>5</sup> But in Miss Bowler's chapter on the subject we read: "Practically every law-enforcement officer who was interviewed in the course of the study, . . . expressed the opinion that it was not the immigrants themselves but their sons that constitute the big crime problem at the present time."<sup>6</sup> Here we are concerned with informed opinions as to facts. At the end of the section Miss Bowler writes: "It is worthy of note that in all these interviews with officers and workers who have handled hundreds of cases of these young offenders of the so-called second generation, not one blamed the foreign stock from which they sprang for their criminal tendencies."<sup>7</sup> Here apparently Miss Bowler is concerned lest her readers interpret these expressed opinions as evidence of a belief in some innate depravity of immigrants or attribute some "blame" to them, rather than see the problem in the difficult cultural ad-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 401-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

justment these children have to make. But of course what we need to know is simply whether the presence of the "second generation" in America does or does not increase the crime problem. Miss Bowler's doubt as to the answer to this question is apparently based solely upon some interesting data from Detroit.<sup>8</sup> These show a very slight difference in favor of the "second generation" as compared with native whites of native parentage. This amounts to 2.06 points difference between 53.06 for the latter and 51.0 for the former,—a matter of 4 per cent. Her data from Buffalo on the other hand show a difference of 43.43 points against the "second generation" between rates of 163.81 and 207.24,—a matter of 26 per cent. But in any case the evidence from Detroit is a challenge.

In the meantime it is of interest to quote another section of the Wickersham report. Mr. Clifford Shaw surely cannot be accused of any tendency to over-emphasize the influence of immigration upon crime. Yet we read:<sup>9</sup> "The children of these two groups [foreign and Negro] have, for a long period of time constituted a disproportionate percentage of the delinquents in the juvenile court." . . . "Thus, although 75.6 per cent of the white delinquents had foreign-born fathers, only 48.3 per cent of the total male white population were foreign born. . . . The [delinquency] rate for the delinquents with native fathers was 2.9 as against 5.0 for the delinquents with foreign-born fathers. Thus the rate for the children with foreign-born fathers is 72 per cent greater than that for the delinquents with native-born fathers." These facts from Shaw are

based upon a study of 8,141 Chicago juvenile court boys appearing between 1917 and 1923. Though published in the same general report these data may not have been available to Miss Bowler.

It is interesting to note that Miss Bowler herself presents another type of data which, though insufficient in itself to warrant a final conclusion, tends not only to substantiate the other evidence of the criminality of the children of immigrants, but to show its significance for the paradox we are seeking to resolve. I refer to her

TABLE I  
RACE AND NATIVITY COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL  
POPULATION AND OF THE POLICE "BLACK LIST"  
OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, 1930

	POPULATION		BLACK LIST	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Native white of native parentage.....	242,832	27.0	4	3.3
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	354,771	39.4	74	61.2
Foreign-born white.....	229,487	25.5	30	24.8
Negro.....	71,899	8.0	13	10.7
Totals.....	898,989	99.9	121	100.0

data on organized crime. Miss Bowler states that these are "fragmentary and insufficient for the formation of any conclusions."<sup>10</sup> The most numerous data presented are from a tabulation of black-list men kept by the Cleveland Police Department. The list totals 121 names and indeed one might wish it were ten times as long. Yet it may be interesting to compare the proportion of each nativity group among these names with the proportion of the corresponding groups in the general population of Cleveland. This was perhaps impossible when Miss Bowler wrote although even the 1920 figures would have

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>9</sup> Clifford R. Shaw, and Henry D. McKay. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report No. 13. Vol. II. pp. 80-81. 1931.

<sup>10</sup> *Crime and the Foreign Born*. *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

been interesting. The comparison is found in Table I. Granting the need for further data from other cities, we may nevertheless note: (1) that native white of native parentage are found in this table in only about one-eighth their normal proportion; (2) that the children of immigrants contribute over one and a half times their proportion; and (3) that the foreign born are just under and the Negroes just over theirs. But Table I also shows how misleading may be the statement that the foreign born commit less than their quota of crime. Such a statement is literally true for this table. But it is only true because the foreign born are compared with a group containing their own children and a smaller group of Negroes. Their quota-fulfilment index is .973 while that of the native born of native parentage is only .122, and the ratio in favor of the latter is thus almost exactly eight to one. It will at once be replied that the "old stock" have great advantages in social and economic status; but that is not the point. Whatever the cause, such data show not only how bad the record of the "second generation" is, but also that the apparently fine record of the immigrant—in spite of his many handicaps—is largely due to the fact that the children of immigrants have a still worse record.

(3) A third and minor possible explanation for our paradox may be that in neighborhoods inhabited chiefly by foreigners much crime does not result in arrest. While this may be true of other types of neighborhoods, it has been shown to be peculiarly true of the foreign slums in some of our cities. This fact applies especially to petty offenses but also to some which would be classed as felonies. These relatively petty felonies not resulting in arrest, being rather numerous, would presumably, if added, raise the crime ratios of the foreign born appreciably.

(4) A fourth possible explanation might be that the record of the different nationalities varies greatly. If so, then the bad record of nationalities with especially difficult problems of adjustment might be offset by the good record of immigrants with lesser adjustment problems. In the Wickersham report Miss Bowler's conclusion here is:<sup>11</sup> "The data do not justify the assertion of excessive criminality of any particular national group." The negative form of this statement is worthy of note. It is made despite some rather considerable contrasts shown in some of Miss Bowler's tables. And apart from figures, would it not be strange if all the culture groups had exactly the same difficulty in making an adequate adjustment? The cultural school of sociologists should be the last to expect that Sicilian culture and Danish culture would merge with American culture at the same rate or with equal friction. In the Wickersham report the comparison between the crime records of most nationalities and that of the native born is distinctly favorable to the former.<sup>12</sup> This is of course subject to the serious objection noted above that children of immigrants are included in the category "native born." Apart from this, for a few of the more serious crimes, the records of certain groups are excessive. Thus to quote Miss Bowler:<sup>13</sup> "The arrest rate of the native white is exceeded by national groups as follows: 'In homicide by Mexico, Lithuania, and the 'all other' group; in rape by Mexico, Greece, Lithuania, and the 'all other' group; in carrying weapons by Mexico, Italy, Greece, and the 'all other' group; in assault by Mexico, Greece, Lithuania, Italy, and the 'all other' group; in robbery by Mexico alone; in burglary by Mexico alone.'" This refers to data for six serious felonies from

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

nine cities during a one-year period. These data, Miss Bowler says, disagree radically with the popular belief that a high percentage of present-day banditry may be ascribed to the alien. Nevertheless her evidence does assign an unenviable position to Italians, Mexicans, Greeks and the "all other" group. Moreover, it is almost certainly in burglary and robbery that the children of immigrants excel. For example Giardini has shown the tendency for second generation Italians to substitute predatory crimes, including burglary and robbery, for the still more violent crimes of their parents.<sup>14</sup>

In this connection Miss Bowler also presents a table of arrest statistics by nationality for New York State.<sup>15</sup> In this table the rate for the total native born is very high—346.7 per 100,000 population 18 years of age and over. It must again be said that this rate includes both children of immigrants and Negroes. According to the Census of 1930 the "second generation" were almost the same proportion of the population of New York State as were the native born of native parentage—the former comprising 35.6 per cent and the latter 35.5 per cent of the whole. But quite apart from this point, the New York data illustrate another important fact—the wide variation in arrest rates *as between the different nationalities*. While it is true that only rates for Greeks, Mexicans, and "all others" exceed the rate for the native white and Negro combined (with the Italian rate falling a fraction below); yet the fact remains that the rates by nationalities show wide variations. The terrific Mexican rate of 1886.0 should, on the basis of 1930 Census data, probably be

reduced nearly to 1000. Other nationality rates vary from a high for Greeks of 779.5 to a low for Czecho-Slovaks of only 38.1—the ratio between these rates being over 20 to 1. When, therefore, the report claims that no nationality can be said to be excessively criminal, it must refer to its relation to the native born and Negro combined (children of immigrants being, of course, included), rather than to the relative rates of different foreign groups. Whatever the report means to imply, it can hardly be said to be a matter of indifference to a community whether Czechs, Greeks, or Italians are received.

(5) Finally it may be suggested that changes in age distribution of the foreign born and native populations and similar changes within particular nationalities may considerably affect their crime rates. It is not merely that we must consider adult males as the basis for rates. This the Wickersham report tries to do. Whatever group chances to contain an abnormal proportion of young men say between the ages of 18 and 29 would, other things equal, show a high felony rate. We have recently discovered the importance for population forecasts of considering not merely the female population within the child bearing period, but the distribution within that period.<sup>16</sup> Similarly it is probable that such refinements of data are equally important in the field of criminal statistics. Just as more babies are born during the early years of married life, so more felonies are committed during the early years of male adulthood. Immigration has usually brought us young adult males, but if immigration is shut off these adult males grow older and, like the rest

<sup>14</sup> Giovanni Giardini. A report on the Italian Convict. Published by the Board of Trustees of the Western Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, *n.d.*

<sup>15</sup> Crime and the Foreign Born. *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Louis I. Dublin. On the True Rate of Natural Increase, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XX, 305-339, Sept. 1925. Warren S., Thompson. *Population Problems*. New York, 1930, p. 89 etc.

of us, become less actively criminal with advancing years. As late as 1930 immigrants *on arrival* were predominantly in early middle life. Fifty-six per cent of them were between the ages of 15 and 29; and that is the age period when felonies are chiefly committed, 62.9 per cent of the commitments in 1930 falling within that group. By comparison only 27.1 per cent of native whites and only 26.4 per cent of native whites of native parentage are of this "dangerous age." On arrival, therefore, immigrants show an age distribution favorable to crime. But in 1930 the foreign-born population showed only 13.9 per cent aged between 15 and 29. This is hardly more than half the proportion of native whites of corresponding ages.

Hence the age distribution of the *foreign born*, unlike that of newly arrived immigrants, is to-day *unfavorable* to the commission of felonies. In addition, as is well known, the foreign born have relatively few in the age period under 15 (2.1 per cent) as compared with 32.9 per cent for the native whites and 34.1 per cent for the native whites of native parentage. It is for this latter reason, of course, that the Wickersham Commission used population bases, wherever possible, which excluded children under 18 or under 15. But they did not consider the age distribution *within* the adult period. Indeed Census data were not available when they wrote, although certain trends were observable. By computing the number of commitments which theoretically would have been made from among the foreign born, had their age distribution been the same as that of the native white population, the result shows that 4042.5 would have been committed instead of 3660, or, in other words, that the commitment rate of the foreign born should be raised by about 10½ per cent if it is to be comparable with that of the native born. This correction

is not so very important when contrasts as great as those shown by the Wickersham report are concerned. But, added to the other possible explanations of our paradox, it is worth mentioning. Moreover the principle of such corrections seems important. It seems that unless our immigration policy is radically changed such a correction will become of tremendous importance by 1940. By a process of extremely rough calculation the writer has crudely estimated that failure to take account of the age distribution within the adult period would in 1940 amount to an error of something like 80 per cent in favor of the foreign born. That is to say, by that time our present foreign population will largely have passed out of the age period when serious felonies are committed—or at least when men are caught and punished for them.<sup>17</sup>

We noted above a paradox. It seems that immigration should increase our crime problem. Yet certain findings of the Wickersham Commission seem to indicate that immigrants are less criminal than natives. We have discussed five possible explanations of this paradox. (1) Some immigrants are protected from crime by life in ghettos. (2) Immigrants appear law-abiding because they are compared with the total of the native born among whom are the children of immigrants whose adjustment problem seems unusually difficult. Yet in a sense these of the second generation are a part of "the immigration problem." (3) In some

<sup>17</sup> The figures in this paragraph were derived or computed from the following sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, 1929 and 1930*. Table 30, page 37; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Decennial Census*; U. S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1931*, p. 242. Space did not permit the inclusion in this article of the full tables derived from these sources with the several computations.

foreign neighborhoods even felonies of a petty nature may be at times overlooked.

(4) The most serious adjustment problems are probably those of nationalities with cultures most unlike the American. But any high crime rate among such peoples is partly disguised by inclusion in our statistics of nationalities with lesser adjustment problems. (5) Finally when full allowance is made for differences in age distribution the crime rates of the foreign born are raised somewhat. These five considerations seem to explain the paradox.

But if immigration does increase the American crime problem, it does not follow that immigrants are either "inherently worse" than native Americans of the "old stock" nor that they are at all "to blame" for crime. Anti-alien prejudice in that sense has no more support from the considerations emphasized in this article, than from the conclusions of the Wickersham report.

Moreover the writer cannot close without making one point not entirely germane to this particular argument. He would not be rated as another "baiter of aliens." He rejoices in evidence which like that of the Wickersham report tends to destroy our silly anti-alien biases. He happens to believe that immigration does somewhat increase the crime problem, largely because of the difficulties of adjustment in the second generation. But he certainly would not base our immigration policy chiefly on that fact. He favors somewhat more liberal immigration laws. Indeed it is arguable that those nationalities which most involve us in crime because of their contrasting culture, also contribute most to cultural progress and for the same reason. Moreover, it seems probable that the criminogenic effects of immigration—if they are real—are temporary. If so, they are reasonable costs of progress produced through stimulating culture contact.

#### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION SERVICE

The following announcement comes from the headquarters of Public Administration Service at 850 East 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois. This coöperative service to public officials, research agencies, and others interested in government, was formerly conducted under the name of Municipal Administration Service, organized in 1926 under the auspices of the National Municipal League, the American Municipal Association, the Governmental Research Association, and the International City Managers' Association. (Since then it has answered several thousand inquiries concerning administrative practices in government for city officials, leagues of municipalities, research bureaus, chambers of commerce, and interested individuals. It has published over thirty booklets on specific, practical problems of current importance in public administration, thousands of copies of which have been distributed to all parts of the country.)

At its new headquarters, the Service will have the benefit of the facilities of the "Chicago Group" of secretariats of associations and organizations working actively in the field of government. Its new governing committee will consist of the executive directors and secretaries of these agencies: Louis Brownlow, Chairman, Director of Public Administration Clearing House; Frank Bane, Executive Secretary of the American Public Welfare Association; Paul V. Betters, Executive Secretary of the American Municipal Association; Carl H. Chatters, Executive Secretary of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; Robert M. Paige, Secretary of the Governmental Research Association; Clarence E. Ridley, Executive Director of the International City Managers' Association; Henry W. Toll, Director of the American Legislators' Association; together with Howard P. Jones, Secretary of the National Municipal League, of New York.

The new director of the Public Administration Service is Charles S. Ascher.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOCIAL ISOLATION OF THE FRENCH SPEAKING PEOPLE OF RURAL LOUISIANA

H. W. GILMORE

*Tulane University*

IT SHOULD be made clear in the beginning that this paper does not constitute a report on a finished research project. Rather, it is an attempt to outline in a broad way a subject which deserves thorough study, on which some research is in progress, but which cannot be carried to completion with the resources now at hand.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand the more isolated French speaking settlements in present day Louisiana, it is necessary to know something of the history of the French people in this state. The French people in Louisiana consist of two rather distinct classes, the Creoles and the Acadians.<sup>1</sup> The Creoles<sup>2</sup> are the descendants of the early colonists who came to Louisiana from the Old World and from various French West India possessions. For the

most part these early colonists settled in the city of New Orleans and northward along the Mississippi River. From an early date they have been, on the whole, an educated and well-to-do people. Having gained an early foothold in this port city, they naturally played an important rôle in the pioneer politics and business. Their financial position enabled them to maintain moderately close contacts with the continent, and their language and culture have retained considerable similarity to that of France, even though most of them now speak English and are more or less Americanized.

As compared with the Creoles, the Acadians, derisively called Cajuns, have a very different background. The present day Acadians trace their ancestry to the French settlers who were deported from Nova Scotia between 1755 and 1760.<sup>3</sup>

Nova Scotia at the time of its settlement was a French possession. The first successful settlement occurred in 1604, and additional French colonists arrived at intervals during the next fifty years. The

<sup>1</sup> In addition to these two major classes, there are in the State small groups of Negroes, Indians, Germans, and Spaniards who speak the Acadian patois and have taken over much of the Acadian culture.

<sup>2</sup> For information on differences in the usage of the term "Creole" and for historical data see; George W. Cable, "Who are the Creoles?" *The Century Magazine*, XXV, 385-398; Henry Rightor, *Standard History of New Orleans, Louisiana*, Chap. VII, Chicago, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> For historical data on the Acadians see, Chas. E. A. Gayerre, *History of Louisiana*, II, Chap. 3, New Orleans, 1885; Henry E. Chambers, *Mississippi Valley Beginnings*, pp. 131-37, New York, 1922; Dudley J. LeBlanc, *The True Story of the Acadians*, 1932.

land was reasonably fertile and a thriving agricultural colony developed. From the time of the first settlement Nova Scotia remained in almost continuous possession of France for over 100 years. Finally by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 it became a British possession.

The acquisition of Nova Scotia by the British had important consequences for the French settlers. They were French in race and culture, they were Catholic in religion, and they were in possession of the best farming lands. England at that time was Protestant, and the strife between England and France was almost continuous. The nationality, religion, and economic position of the French settlers tended, thus, to antagonize the British rulers and also the British settlers who tried to gain a foothold in the new possession. As a result, the French settlers were none too well treated. They were subjected to various degrees of persecution and were harassed more or less continuously for almost a half century. This lengthy period of persecution, of course, only increased their devotion to their French culture and to the Catholic religion. The ultimate climax of this persecution was the famous deportation of the Acadians which began in 1755, and has been memorialized by Longfellow in his well known *Evangeline*.

Most of the Acadians who were deported were sent to the New England colonies. Some, however, were taken to England, France and other places. Since the New England colonies were Protestant, the Acadians found no more welcome there than they had found in Nova Scotia. There ensued, therefore, a period of more or less aimless wandering, some of the exiles hoping to go to France, others hoping to return to Nova Scotia, while still others turned their eyes towards various French possessions. Finally, Louisiana, which was at that time a

French possession, came to be heralded as the New Acadia, and it soon became the Mecca of the migrant Acadians. The first Acadians reached Louisiana about 1764, and they continued to arrive in small detachments for some twenty years. Upon reaching Louisiana, the poverty stricken wanderers were taken in hand by the French government, were given land, implements and supplies, and were settled in rural sections of the state.<sup>4</sup> Very few remained in the vicinity of New Orleans.

The history of the Acadians after they settled in rural Louisiana is not easy to trace. As the colonial period developed, it is probable that some became plantation owners. These, however, were probably in the minority. The mass, doubtless, belonged to what is commonly known as the "poor white class," and as such their life during this period had an important bearing on their present status and distribution.

To the "poor whites," the semi-tropical swamp sections of Louisiana furnished economic opportunities which were not available to similar people in most of the other states. The bayous contained an unlimited supply of fish which could be caught either for consumption or for market. The forests and marsh lands afforded an abundant animal life which could be trapped or hunted for food or for fur. Then, there were certain valuable woods which grew in the swamps and could be hunted out and marketed. In addition, vegetables grew prolifically the year round, and a family could raise much

<sup>4</sup> New Orleans and the territory which is now Louisiana passed into the hands of Spain at the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763. The new Spanish governor, Antonio de Ulloa, however, did not arrive until several years later. He continued to force the Acadians to settle in rural sections, but he discontinued the financial aid which had been given by the French government.

of its food on a small garden plot. To this list must be added Spanish moss which grows profusely in the forests and has long been gathered for market. Fishing, hunting, trapping, and the gathering of moss and woods, in addition to the growing of vegetables, therefore, helped to make the swamps a favorable retreat for the whites who were not included in the plantation system.

Another factor which was a boon to the "poor whites" was the topography of the tillable land which the swamp sections contained. The deposits of flood waters in the past have built up small strips of tillable land which extend in peninsular-like fashion along the bayous out into the marsh areas. These strips of land, while very fertile, were marginal lands from the standpoint of plantation economy being too narrow to be suitable for large scale cultivation and because of transportation difficulties. They were admirably suited, however, to the needs of small scale farmers who produced largely for home consumption. Having the bayou on one side and the swamp on the other, these farmers had accessibility to the fish, animals, and other natural products of the swamps which they could use to supplement their farming. As a rule these strips of land were broadest at their inland end and became narrower as they extended out into the marshes. Since the inland part was also most accessible for purposes of transportation, there was a tendency for the inhabitants to devote their major attention to agriculture. Further out on the "peninsular," however, as the distance from the main land became greater and the strip of tillable land became narrower, they tended to devote less attention to farming and more to trapping, the gathering of moss, and other swamp pursuits. So that toward the outer end of these sections there were many who gained their

livelihood entirely from means other than agriculture.

Thus, on the whole, the colonial period tended to bring about a dispersion of the Acadians through the swamps. Some, no doubt, secured employment as overseers, stablemen, etc., on the plantations. The mass, however, retreated to the narrow strips of tillable land along the bayous where they engaged in one or more of the swamp pursuits; small scale farming, fishing, trapping, and the gathering of moss or wood.

With the abolition of slavery, the plantation, of course, shifted to a tenant basis. With this shift, the Acadians have tended to replace the Negroes in tenant farming, until today many are on plantations. Coming in part from this group, there has developed in the small towns an educated minority who are "standard" Americans. The abolition of slavery, however, did not drain the swamps of bayou dwellers. Vast numbers are still living in the more remote sections gaining a livelihood from the swamp occupations.

To understand the living conditions of these people, it is necessary to understand the transportation and communication problems which they face. Up until the development of the highway system within the last decade, it was virtually impossible to travel in the swamp areas except by the waterways. The bayous were, thus, the highways of the swamps. Small steamships plied some of the larger bayous, but on many of the smaller ones there was no commercial transportation. Practically the only means of travel was the privately owned, hand driven boats. In the past, the most common type was the "pirogue" which consisted of a half log hollowed out. It only accommodated one to two passengers and, thus, was of limited use. The remote swamp dweller, therefore, traveled little and his family

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even less. Since there were no telephones, communication was as difficult as travel.

The topographical conditions of the country, with attendant difficulties of travel, produced what is known as the bayou settlement, which is in striking contrast to the typical American village. It consists of dwellings built along the banks of the bayou, sometimes reaching in a row practically unbroken for several miles. Often these "shanty-like" houses are built within a few yards of each other, and in some places are two to four tiers deep, the backyard of one joining the front yard of another. At intervals along the settlement a small store or shop will be found. Perhaps the largest of these settlements was the Bayou Lafourche settlement which formerly extended approximately a hundred miles along the bayous of the same name.

The Acadians in Louisiana today, therefore, present the following picture: (1) In the small towns located in agricultural sections, are an educated minority who have become fairly well Americanized, and who are engaged in "white collar" occupations. (2) On the plantations are a large number who are engaged in tenant farming. (3) And finally, scattered out along the bayous into the very remote sections are the swamp dwellers, some of whom live in settlements while others have solitary abodes.

#### SOCIAL ISOLATION OF THE ACADIANS

In order to clarify the social isolation of the Acadians it is necessary to say something about their language. They have been referred to as French speaking people. As a matter of fact, however, their language is by no means standard French. It is a French dialect, and in Louisiana, it is commonly called "cajun patois." Just what this "cajun patois" is, is difficult to determine. Some claim

that it is simply the old French which was spoken in France at the time the original settlers left for Nova Scotia. A glossary of Louisiana-French, recently published by Dr. William A. Read of Louisiana State University, seems to indicate, however, that, while containing a foundation of old French words, this dialect also contains words borrowed from Indian, German, English, Spanish, and Italian sources.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, many of the French words themselves have undergone considerable change.

This dialect is, no doubt, a product of the social isolation under which the Acadians have lived, but it is also a source of isolation. It makes it difficult for the Acadians to converse with the other French speaking people in Louisiana and it, of course, practically prevents conversation with those speaking other languages. Furthermore, there are no publications in the dialect, and there is thus no reading matter available to them. They do not have the ethnic newspaper, therefore, which keeps most foreign language groups in touch with the larger world. These people have been isolated, thus, both from the standpoint of spoken communication and from the standpoint of reading facilities. In addition to language difficulties, other forms of isolation have been potent. As has been pointed out travel in the swamps in the past was slow and difficult except by the larger boats. The natives thus did not travel far. This lack of mobility was encouraged by the fact that, being engaged in more or less self-sufficient occupations, they did not have to go out of their community to work. For the most part, they sold or bartered their fish, furs, and moss to local shop keepers. Even as share-croppers on plantations, they were not forced to have

<sup>5</sup> William A. Read, *Louisiana French*, Louisiana State University Press, 1931.

many contacts with others than their own race. Among other things, therefore, the factors of language, occupations, and travel tended to set up a high degree of social isolation about these people and to protect their culture from changes introduced from the outside world.

It is doubtful that geographical, occupational, and language isolation have been as effectively combined to produce social isolation of ethnic groups anywhere else in America. The mountain peoples, while isolated geographically, do in most cases speak the English language. The ethnic groups in our northern cities, as is well known, are little more than ports of entry for first generation immigrants, and the foreign language colonies of the mid-west and the Pacific coast have a minimum of geographical isolation. It thus seems reasonable to believe that the Acadians offer the best example of large scale community isolation to be found in this country. It should be pointed out also that, as a result of this isolation, they constitute probably the largest unassimilated nationality group in America.

In considering the present and past isolation of the Acadians it should be borne in mind that they were subjected to considerable social isolation for a century and a half before they reached Louisiana. All of the early colonies, of course, were partially isolated from Europe because of difficulties of travel and communication. In the case of the Acadians, isolation both from Europe and from other colonists was immeasurably increased after the acquisition of Nova Scotia by the British. The attitudes growing out of persecution increased greatly the already existing barriers of religious, cultural, and racial differences. The process of cultural inbreeding, therefore, reaches much farther back than the Acadians' residence in Louisiana.

#### EFFECTS OF SOCIAL ISOLATION ON THE ACADIANS

In stating the effects of social isolation on the Acadians the author must of necessity be very indefinite and at the same time conservative. As a matter of fact no scientific studies of note have been made on the subject. All that can be done, therefore, is to make a few broad deductions from general impressions.

The most obvious effect of social isolation on the Acadians is the dialect, cajun patois, referred to above. Sufficient study has been made of this to indicate clearly that it is the product of a slow change in their original language and that it contains some words which have filtered in from other sources. Since language frequently changes more quickly than more fundamental customs, it is probable that a thorough study of their customs would reveal many having a very early origin. That their social isolation has produced or conserved a unique culture among them is indicated by the fact that the Acadians have a distinct status among other population groupings in the state. This is of special significance from a cultural angle since their physical features are not such as easily to mark them off from other white residents of the rural sections. The status which the group has with other groups is not enviable. The term "cajun" is a derogatory term which is in marked disfavor among the better educated Acadians. Their status is also reflected in the large repertoire of jokes which are told at their expense, most of which, to say the least, are not complimentary.

That social isolation has produced in the Acadians a provincial outlook, a resistance to social change, and a devotion to time honored customs is the consensus of opinion of those who know them. A more tangible product, however, is their

attitude towards the outsider. As is more or less typical of isolated people, the outsider is either welcomed wholeheartedly or is greatly distrusted. The outsider who is known and trusted is welcomed with the most lavish hospitality which the host can afford. Even the stranger who plays only the rôle of a guest and does nothing to arouse suspicion is well received and generously treated. On the whole, however, the stranger is looked upon askance. If he seeks information, attempts to transact business, or otherwise appears questionable, he will find himself the subject of suspicion and, perhaps, of secretiveness and deception. Salesmen, investigators, and even census takers find themselves subjected to these defense mechanisms against the stranger. The strength of this suspicion is indicated by the fact that, aside from political corruption, more votes are cast in some parishes than there are inhabitants as recorded in the Federal Census. And this discrepancy may be ascribed largely to the fact that the politician is an insider while the census enumerator is an outsider.

Out of the social isolation of the Acadians has arisen internal cultural differences between sections and between occupations. A part of these differences is due to the fact that some localities are subject to a higher degree of isolation than others. Those localities which have fair contacts with the outside world have acquired fragments of the American culture while the people in the more remote sections have been little affected by outside contacts. Essentially, of course, the differences in outside contacts have an ecological basis. In actuality, however, there appear to be marked occupational differences. The merchants, by virtue of their business connections, have the most frequent outside contacts. Next to the merchant is the farmer. Since farm products

must be marketed, many of the agricultural sections are reasonably accessible to lines of transportation. Americanization, even among the tenant class, therefore, has made some progress. On the whole, the most highly isolated are those who follow the occupations which take them into the more remote swamp sections. Thus, Mr. Hyde, in his study of the dwellers along Bayou Plaquemine, found that fewer persons engaged in trapping, fishing, mossing or swamping had any formal education, took any daily paper, or subscribed to a magazine than was true of either the farmers or the merchants. Farmers ranked next to the swamp workers, while the merchants scored higher than either of the other occupational groupings.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to sectional and occupational differences which have resulted from different degrees of social isolation, it appears that differences have developed in the form of provincial variations. The exact extent of these provincial practices has not been determined. The dialect spoken by the Acadians is reported to show sectional differences, and Dr. Read in his glossary points out variations in the usage of French words. That provincial differences in customs also exist may be safely surmised.

In one respect at least the social isolation of the Acadians appears to have had had a tendency to bring about a break with their past instead of preserving their cultural continuity. Since the Acadians had a strong Catholic tradition, further strengthened by persecution, it might be expected that their affections for that faith would be perpetuated by their isolation. And commonly that is believed to be true. Probably more than ninety-five per cent of the Acadians are nominally Catholic.

<sup>6</sup> Roy E. Hyde, *Rural Family Organization on Bayou Plaquemine*. An M.A. Thesis. Department of Sociology, Louisiana State University, 1932.

First impressions of the situation, however, appear to be misleading. In the more densely populated sections the Church has maintained a firm hold on its constituency. In the more remote areas, however, it has faced difficulties. Since much of the Catholic religion centers around the church building and the clergy, the difficulties of travel have been a great handicap to it in the remote and sparsely settled sections. As a result, many people in these sections consider themselves Catholic, and, if they can afford it, avail themselves of the more important rights, such as, christening, marriage by a priest, and burial. Further than this, however, they may have little contact with the Church. In fact, they are occasionally Catholic to this extent, and, at the same time, they or their children may participate in the activities of a Protestant church.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion it must be said that if the effects of social isolation on the Acadians are to be recorded, an adequate study must

be made soon. The importance of making a thorough study in the near future rests largely on the fact that these areas are now in a process of change. The extension of the highway system is rapidly breaking down their geographical isolation, and the development of a more adequate and more aggressive public school system is tending to break down their language barriers. Even earlier, the taking of large numbers of young people from these communities to the World War seems to have considerably disturbed the provincial complacency which for years resisted social change. In addition, many trapping lands, which were formerly public, are being taken up by private interests, and the "free lance" trapper is having to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Thus, the process of change is now under way and is certain to gain momentum. Already some opportunities have been lost. A better study could have been made a decade ago, but perhaps a poorer study will be possible ten years hence. It seems evident, therefore, that an early study is urgent.

## RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS OF SELECTED AMERICAN WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN 1931-32

A. MONROE STOWE

*Randolph-Macon Woman's College*

**S**EVENTEEN thousand and eighty-three students were enrolled in the academic year 1931-32 in 28 of the non-tax supported women's colleges included in the list of American colleges approved by the American Association of Universities. Of these students, 25.1 per cent were enrolled in ten colleges located in the states grouped in the region referred to as the Southeast Region in the Southern

Regional Study,<sup>1</sup> 20.6 per cent attended six colleges in the Middle Atlantic States,<sup>2</sup> 42.1 per cent were registered in the seven

<sup>1</sup> These colleges, include H. Sophie Newcomb in Louisiana, Agnes Scott, Shorter, and Wesleyan in Georgia, Converse in South Carolina, Duke University College for Women and Meredith in North Carolina, and Randolph-Macon, Sweet Briar, and Westhampton in Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> Goucher in Maryland, Bryn Mawr and Wilson in Pennsylvania, and Elmira, Vassar, and Wells in

New England colleges,<sup>3</sup> while 12.2 per cent were enrolled in five colleges in Middle America.<sup>4</sup> If West Virginia, the Middle Atlantic States and the District of Columbia, and the New England States are grouped together as they are in the Southern Regional Study, it will be noted that this Northeast Region contains thirteen of the twenty-eight colleges studied and that these colleges enrolled 62.7 per cent of the total student enrollment.

Not only is it true that the colleges of the Northeast Region served over 60 per

New England States and 34.7 per cent from the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The Southeast Region including Arkansas and Louisiana contributed 22.3 per cent of the total enrollment, while 11.6 per cent of the students came from Middle America. The Southwest Region contributed only 192 students, the Middle West, 120, and the Far West, 114.

A summary of the regional distribution of the 17,083 students attending in 1931-32

TABLE I  
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS OF SELECTED COLLEGES FOR WOMEN, 1931-32

NUMBER OF STUDENTS	FROM	ATTENDING COLLEGES IN:			
		Southeast United States (10)	Middle Atlantic States (6)	New England States (7)	Middle America (5)
3,812	Southeast United States	3,473	158	155	26
192	Southwest United States	108	24	55	5
5,825	Middle Atlantic States and District of Columbia	472	2,572	2,655	126
3,723	New England States	61	318	3,325	19
3,297	Middle America	151	378	863	1,905
120	Middle West	12	26	74	8
114	Far West	9	44	60	1
17,083	United States and District of Columbia	4,286	3,520	7,187	2,090

Table to be read as follows: Of the 3,812 students from Southeast United States, 3,473 attended the ten colleges in the Southeast United States, 158 attended the six colleges in the Middle Atlantic States, 155 were enrolled in the seven colleges in New England, and 26 attended the five colleges in Middle America.

cent of the 17,083 students enrolled in the 28 colleges studied, but it is also noticeable that the states of this region contributed 55.9 per cent of the students enrolled for 1931-32, 21.2 per cent coming from the

New York. Information about the residential distribution of Barnard was not available.

<sup>3</sup> Connecticut College for Women in Connecticut, Pembroke College of Brown University in Rhode Island, and Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Wellesley, and Wheaton in Massachusetts.

<sup>4</sup> Flora Stone Mather College of Western Reserve University, Lake Erie, and Western College in Ohio, McMurry (Illinois College for Women) in Illinois, and Milwaukee-Downer in Wisconsin.

the colleges studied is presented in Table I. From this table it will be noted that the colleges of the Southeast Region attracted 91.1 per cent of the students from this region, those of the New England States held 89.3 per cent of the students from their states, those of Middle America enrolled 57.8 per cent of the students from that region, while the six colleges in the Middle Atlantic States registered but 44.2 per cent of the students from those states, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. A larger number of students from this region attended the New England col-

leges than were enrolled in the six colleges of the Middle Atlantic States.

From Tables I and II an idea of the inter-regional movements of students may be obtained. It will be noted that in the case of New England and Southeast United States more students entered the region than left to attend the type of college being studied. Just the opposite situation is true in the case of the Middle Atlantic States and Middle America. Of all the regions the most promising extra-regional

Middle America. The movement of students from the Middle Atlantic States was into New England and into the South, while that from Middle America was into New England and the Middle Atlantic States, although 151 students from Middle America attended southern colleges for women.

The least promising extra-regional source of student-supply seems to be the New England States. This is evident from the material contained in Table III.

TABLE II  
INTER-REGIONAL MOVEMENTS OF STUDENTS OF SELECTED COLLEGES FOR WOMEN, 1931-32

REGION	STUDENTS LEAVING THE REGION TO ATTEND COLLEGE	STUDENTS ENTERING REGION TO ATTEND COLLEGE	NET GAIN	NET LOSS
Southeast United States.....	339	813	474	
Middle Atlantic States and West Virginia and District of Columbia.....	3,453	948		2,505
New England.....	398	3,862	3,464	
Middle America.....	1,392	185		1,207

TABLE III  
INTERCHANGE OF STUDENTS BETWEEN SOUTHEAST UNITED STATES AND OTHER REGIONS, 1931-32

	NUMBER
Students from Southeast United States attending colleges in:	
Middle Atlantic States.....	158
New England.....	155
Middle America.....	26
Other regions (total).....	339
Students Attending Colleges in Southeast United States from:	
Middle Atlantic States.....	472
New England.....	61
Middle America.....	151
Other regions (total).....	684

source of student-supply would seem to be the Middle Atlantic States, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, while the next promising appears to be the region of

Of the 339 students who left the Southeast United States to attend colleges in the Northeast United States and Middle America, 84 went from Virginia, 66 from Kentucky (22 of these to colleges in Middle America), 39 from Tennessee, 33 from Alabama, 33 from Georgia, 24 from Florida, and 23 from North Carolina. Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Arkansas furnished 6, 9, 10, and 12 students respectively.

Of the 533 students from Northeast United States who attended colleges in the Southeast United States, 118 came from New York, 110 from Pennsylvania, and 90 from New Jersey, while the State of West Virginia furnished 63 students, or two more than the New England States, and the District of Columbia furnished 46 students or one less than came from Maryland and Delaware. Of the 151 students from Middle America who attended colleges in

the Southeast United States, 48 came from Ohio, 28 from Illinois, 21 from Missouri, 19 from Indiana, and 15 from Michigan. Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin furnished 4, 5, and 11 students respectively. One hundred and eight students from the Southwest United States enrolled in colleges in the Southeast United States. Of these students, 93 came from Texas, 12 from Oklahoma, and three from New Mexico.

Georgia. The percentage of students attending the colleges from southern states other than the one in which the colleges are located is lowest in the case of the North Carolina colleges and greatest in the case of the South Carolina college. It should be noted, however, that while the South Carolina college has a larger percentage of southern out-of-state students, these students come from three less southern states than do the students of the Vir-

TABLE IV

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS OF SELECTED WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN THE SOUTHEAST UNITED STATES, 1931-32

	STUDENTS ENROLLED IN COLLEGES IN:				
	Virginia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Louisiana
COLLEGES.....	(3)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(1)
STUDENTS.....	1,318	1,019	353	939	687
Per cent of the students of the colleges of the state enrolled in the colleges in:					
	Virginia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Louisiana
From:					
Home state (state in which colleges are located).....	34.5	69.8	64.0	71.0	68.9
Other states in:					
Southeast United States.....	26.4	14.2	32.6	24.5	18.0
Southwest United States.....	3.0	0.1	0.3	0.6	9.1
Northeast United States.....	27.1	13.7	2.3	2.6	0.6
Middle America.....	8.0	1.4	0.8	1.2	2.6
Middle West.....	0.6	0.2			0.3
Far West.....	0.2	0.2		0.1	0.5

Table is read as follows: Of the 1,318 students enrolled in three Virginia colleges 34.5 per cent were from Virginia, 26.4 per cent from other states in Southeast United States, 3 per cent from Southwest United States, 27.1 per cent from Northeast United States, 8 per cent from Middle America, etc.

Table IV reveals a number of interesting facts concerning the location of the residences of the students who attended the selected women's colleges in the Southeast United States. Only 34.5 per cent of the students attending the colleges in Virginia came from that state. This percentage in the other four instances ranged from 64 per cent in South Carolina to 71 per cent in the case of students attending colleges in

Georgia colleges, who come from every southern state in numbers ranging from 14 and 19 from Louisiana and Mississippi to 54 and 57 from North Carolina and Georgia. While the Southwest United States contributed 60 students, or 9.1 per cent of the students in the Louisiana college, the 40 students from that region constitute approximately 3 per cent of the students enrolled in Virginia colleges.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### BINDERS OF MARRIGE

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE AND N. N. SEN GUPTA

*University of Lucknow*

THE universality of marriage does not imply its permanence. Indeed, the factors on which the stability of marriage depends are so complex and variable that the disruption of marital ties is to be expected in all ages and among all peoples. While individual instances of failure of marriage are found in all societies, there are certain epochs of history when the phenomenon of break-down is so widespread as to become a social menace. The problem can only be solved by a rational consideration of all the factors in the social situation, which may also give rise to new ideals and forms of marriage.

The marital relation rests primarily on mutual attraction. Sex impulse supplies the initial drive, but the urge which is directly physical in its significance is modified and enriched by the emphasis that man and woman lay on secondary sexual characteristics and more particularly on secondary sexual behavior. This is of considerable social and psychological import for it is by this means that the direction of attention changes from a mere physical act to a person conceived as both an object of desire and of values. Each partner becomes for the other a subject of aesthetic satisfaction and contemplation. The aesthetic interest further serves to transmute the basic physical urge into a motive more

in harmony with the totality of man's nature and culture. It would naturally follow that all the dominant impulses of man have to be adjusted through the mediation of the partner in marriage. The tendencies of aggression and submission with their profound biologic significance have, for instance, their satisfaction if the marital relation is to yield all-round fulfillment. With these are mentally associated the sense of ownership and possession, which is undoubtedly one of the fundamental drives of human nature. This complex of interests is transformed and colored by the softer feelings, which normally arise in connection with sex, and by the cultural milieu of the family. Thus the feeling of "belonging to each other," which husband and wife entertain, is rooted in human impulses and desires with profound biological and psychological import and cannot be lightly treated without endangering the stability of the union itself.

It would be a mistake, however, to limit the range and variety of impulses and interests which may find expression in marital relations. We have conceived the marriage relationship as an adjustment between two psychological selves. It must necessarily implicate the whole gamut of human desires and emotions, though only

some of these can be fulfilled in concrete objects and situations through the mediation of the partner. Thus man's ambitions which social and civic life do not fulfil may yet have an imaginary satisfaction in the life of the couple. The lover is the Prince Charming and the beloved is the Fairy Princess. In the days of courtship and in the glow of early love the barriers of reality disappear, and the desires and aspirations "body forth the forms of things unknown and give to aery things a local habitation and a name." Karl Groos has said that instincts articulate and mature themselves through play, which therefore subserves a profoundly biologic purpose. In the same way the mature instincts, which may not have an immediate function in the external world, manifest themselves in the playful behavior of lovers, and in their fancy and make-believe. This is not confined to man alone, for some of the birds, like grebes and cranes, display much more elaborate series of reciprocal activities than can be usually found in man. It is in this manner that even the obscure conations often are made active and mutually adjusted in the marriage relation.

The partner in marriage, again, is the mediator in the fulfilment of various elemental urges besides sex. The male and the female aid each other in the collection of fruits, roots, and herbs no less than in the preparation of an elaborate meal. In the same way the partners are intermediaries for securing shelter and comfort. The nest-building of birds as well as the rude hut building of primitive humanity requires the cooperation of both the male and the female. And the parental instincts can be fulfilled only through the mediation of the opposite sex. The pleasure and satisfaction resulting from the fulfilment of these impulses are projected to the partner, thereby enriching the physical urge and cementing the union.

Marriage as conceived above can reach its consummation only when it is durable, and has an even and unbroken tenor. The sex activities, which mark the initial steps of marital union, themselves develop through an integration of a number of reflexes of various orders of complexity, which is determined not only by internal and hereditary factors but also by the environment, even sometimes by a casual event or accident.

Any interference with the normal course of integration of such reflexes gives rise, as psychoanalytic observations clearly indicate, to pathological types. Persistence of auto- and homo-eroticism is very largely a product of imperfect integration of the reflexes which constitute the normal sexual life. In like manner the sex function as a whole integrates with the diverse orders of human desires and emotions, and develops into normal marital love. The character of this love depends like its constituent sex activity on factors both hereditary and environmental, persistent and adventitious. The nice balance of love and of sex life, therefore, is liable to be upset by factors which adversely affect the growth and adaptation of the personality. Whenever, therefore, we find a crisis in marriage and sexual life, the causes may be traced to the personal history of the individual, no less than to the environmental factors. For this reason the analysis of the factors which underlie the break-down of marriage becomes so intricate and uncertain.

The process of mutual accommodation, which makes the marital union *solidare*, involves the inter-action and inter-penetration of two psychological selves. In the first place, there must be a necessary coördination of the reciprocal responses in the matter of sex satisfaction. The psychoanalysts tell us, for instance, that there every individual is a blend of the sadist and the masochist. In order that the partners may find satisfaction in mutual relation,

the sadistic and masochistic behavior in each must be suitably adjusted. It is true that sadists and masochists would select partners of the opposite type, but we can hardly depend upon the choice of the individual, which is determined not by biologic preferences alone for the smooth adjustment of aggressive and submissive attitudes. For each type may conceal behind the overt behavior the opposite mode. In fact this often accounts for the storm and stress of the early years of married life. These sexual attitudes left to themselves cannot be made compatible, but in the concrete life situation these inevitably blend with other interests and feelings and cease to be disruptive factors.

The obstacles to adjustment may also arise due to a difference in the periodicity and intensity of sex stimulation in the couple. A lack of adjustment of this nature becomes a source of tension and consequent irritation only when the relation between the pair is barely physical, for it is a well-known fact that secondary sexual behavior not only stimulates but also satisfies the sexual impulse. Hence it follows that when a couple maintains normal secondary sexual behavior, the difference in intensity and in frequency of desire would be much diminished, if not equalized. These secondary reactions are, however, liable to be inhibited by a number of factors, some physical and others psychological and social. Defects in the structure and function of the reproductive system may render the sex relation so unpleasant or indifferent as to prevent the stimulation of secondary erogenous zones and hence of secondary sexual behavior. In such cases the lack of sexual accommodation is a medical rather than a social and a psychological problem. The absence of secondary sexual behavior increases the sexual tension, which, if unrelieved, becomes a focus of neurosis.

On the other hand, there are certain experiences in earlier years which also, as psychoanalysis has shown, profoundly affect the maturation and activities of the sexual system. A premature fixation of the sex attitude or an unpleasant sexual experience of boyhood or girlhood, fear of punishment and suffering inculcated by means of precepts and taboos, or a feeling of shame and sin associated with sex, may all contribute toward undue repression of sex desires and of sex behavior in the widest sense. When the emotional experiences of the individuals are so moulded in their early years their marital adjustment clearly becomes precarious. But the trauma or abnormal trait is likely to disappear after a period of possibly unsatisfactory sex relation, and the sufferings of the individual would cease. There are, however, persons who would carry the pathogenic complex all their lives. In such cases adjustment of the sexual relation becomes exceedingly difficult. But such individuals are to be conceived in some sense as neurotics, for the normal working of sex life tends to dissolve the complexes which arise through shocks, accidents, and taboos.

It is well known that even in the cases where the accommodation of the partners is difficult a common bond of affection toward children tends to mitigate the incompatibility. For the physical urge here smoothly blends with the parental affections and duties, and a stability of relationship is thus established. But there are men and women in whom the sex passion stands aloof by virtue of its intensity from normal human creations and thus remains an eruptive force throughout life. Normally, however, the poignancy of the passion which we find in youth is mellowed with the passing of years, and attains a rich, variegated emotive coloring on account of the need of the individual to

respond to a complex environment integrally rather than fractionally. The rebellious sex urge is a symptom which indicates the failure of the suggestions of social traditions and ideals which shape the conduct of the majority of individuals. It is an outcome of strong counter-tendencies which look back to unfavorable heredity or training.

The process of maturation of the individual on account of aging is helped by the assimilation of the sex desire with other dominant conations like the love of offspring. The natural desire of man, and, indeed, of all higher organisms for setting up a fixed abode, fashions sex in no small measure for ends which are no longer barely physical or temporary. For a home created by one's own efforts represents not only a place of shelter and comfort but also focuses hopes, aspirations, and aesthetic interests. The economic coöperation of the sexes would further serve to strengthen the union, and assure an easier and smoother tenor of sexual life even in spite of incompatibility, thus subordinating the unruly impulse to the needs of adaptation which the growing psycho-social individual must necessarily face. Such coöperation should also imply joint ownership of the home and property and acquisitions, which naturally furnish a stable economic basis for more enduring relations.

The reciprocal adaptation with respect to the fundamental urges of human nature, the needs of physical life, love of offspring, the constructive and aesthetic interests centered round the home and the hearth, as also reciprocal natural attachment to property and wealth and participation in the social world, would formally lead to an inter-penetration of feelings, attitudes, and values,—in fact to a unison of minds.

Indeed, the rhythm and harmony which made easier the arduous tasks of primitive man and woman led to the perpetuation

of the experience in music and dance. The playful and sportive spirit undoubtedly added zest and joy to such festivities which tribal society and religion sanctioned and encouraged. It was in this manner that man and woman first began to share a common aesthetic life. Rites and ceremonies similarly enjoyed the coöperation between the sexes for ends which magic and religion envisaged. With the march of civilization and elaboration of culture, there has also been a corresponding increase of cultural interests and activities which afford opportunities for the opposite sexes to pursue common goals. Thus the progress of civilization has made it possible for partners in marriage to focus and pursue common cultural ends through their unitive life.

It is for this reason the family has rightly been regarded as a great conserving agency of cultural traditions and institutions. It is in fact the pursuit of a common cultural end that for the time being unites the various members of the family group. In the East, the round of festivals and socio-religious ceremonies, which appear to the western observer as primitive and wasteful display, serve the very important purpose of bringing together the husband and wife as well as remote kindred. The integrity of the joint family and clan organization in India and China is in no small measure due to the continuance of the age-old socio-religious domestic observances. These reflect the deep-seated faiths and convictions of the people vividly portrayed and revived by means of hymns, ballads, and stories of ancient love and devotion, constancy and self-sacrifice. The latter form an integral part of the rites and ceremonies enabling the individual to re-live moments of cultural insight and re-act the spiritual episodes of his racial history. We also observe that the decay of such observances

has accompanied the loosening of clan and family ties in the east. The same probably holds good of the western countries, where socio-religious festivities have long given way to purely social and secular interests.

In India the very definition of the family implies jointness in food, worship, and estate, while the wife is the *darma-patni* or inseparable companion in all socio-religious obligations. In this way it has been recognized that cultural ends serve to cement the union not merely of the kith and kin on festive occasions but also brings about a partnership of the sexes, which is more in the nature of an integration of personalities, for a cultural object or end interweaves a variety of normal impulses and interests which otherwise would seek separate fulfilment. Thus the personality of the individual can rise above the level of drab dispersion and attains a state of conscious unity, however temporary it may be. The union of two persons with such placid self-consciousness becomes all the easier when religious fasts and ceremonial rejoicings, family gatherings and historic social ceremonies with their many-sided appeals to human nature completely absorb their interests and reunite them with the currents of life of the mighty past ceaselessly flowing through their brief episodes of love and devotion.

Thus in a stabilized family, there is a conscious coöperation of the partners to realize the common economic and cultural ends. Whether it is the education and nurture of the children, or the perpetuation of communal faith and worship, social status and family tradition or again service to the state, the deity or the ancestors, the individuals face the task as one in which the full development of their personalities is implicated. Secondly, not merely do the partners play their own

rôles, the other members of the family as well have also their specific duties to discharge of an intimate and mutual character centered about common family aims and interests. For each member of the family, his or her rôle is defined and idealized according to the cultural traditions of the community. This results in the establishment both of a family hierarchy and a universal code of rights and duties for all, with its emotional bonds of mutual attachment and loyalty and devotion to the family group in its generations. The sternness and justice of the father, the piety and beneficence of the mother, the sweetness and affection of the wife, the dutifulness and courage of the son, the purity and devotion of the daughter, are ancient cultural ideals, which serve to modify and condition the personality of each member of the family, and measure his or her status in the eyes of the community.

The prestige of the family thus insures not merely the full maturation of the personalities of the partners but also an effective guidance for its younger members who find their duties and relationships to the social or group environment specified and coördinated in the status and responsibility of each in the family scheme. In the mutuality of attitudes, duties and obligations of the partners, and of the active participation of the family group as a whole in the social or communal world by which the family maintains its status and privilege, there is involved a discipline of the inner life, which alone can transmute sex into a valuable and constructive force personally and socially, and make the family a pillar of social progress. With social change new values of the community emerge leading to a revision of the scheme of duties and behavior patterns for the principal members in a family group; but, although social values have a history

of their own, these serve as the moulds for the development of the subjective life and group integration of the individuals.

A family life thus oriented to all the ends, organic, social and religious, that man and woman normally seek, is a necessary prelude to a real spiritual union of the partners in marriage. It is clear that a unitive life of such depth and intimacy cannot be attained in a flash of romantic passion. The mystics of all ages and climes have found that spiritual insight can be attained only after strenuous self-discipline and inner adjustment. It would be strange if the spiritual union of man and woman would be easier to achieve. The average man and woman brought up under different circumstances and subject to different trends of heredity would naturally have marked differences in their bodily make-up and in their lives of emotions, ideas, and impulses. Such differences must be resolved in order that there may be harmony even in the ordinary routine of marital life. Further, because of the exigencies of both nature and nurture, the easy flow of instincts and interests is often dammed and there tend to develop eddies and whirlpools.

The complexes with which the psychopathologist has made us familiar can only be dissolved partly through the satisfaction of the conations which sustain them, and partly through a transformation of the conations themselves. The present thought on the marriage question has been focussed mainly on the first phase, namely, the fulfilment of the impulses which make it necessary for man or woman to enter into marital relations. For this reason the various schemes of marriage reform are concerned with the permutation and combination of the objects and situations of love. Such schemes must necessarily be diverse as man's nature is itself changeful and unique. The meaning and success of

marriage as a human arrangement are to be found, however, in another direction. Along with the effort of regulating and integrating the impulses exclusively in terms of the objects they seek, it is necessary to seize upon the impulse-experiences, concrete psychological realities apart from their objects. The inner discipline consists in the fusion and consequent regulation of these deep-seated human conations. When thus disciplined at their very source, man's life of impulses would be relatively free from the vicissitudes of the external circumstances, and man would find a stability and poise amidst his life of tumultuous instincts and desires.

It is such harmony of inner life that man has sought in his varied scheme of interests and activities. He has been led to believe that a fulfilment of the urges offers the surest way to achieve peace and joy. Marriage as an institution has had a universal sway inasmuch as it has offered to man and woman objects and situations for the satisfaction and stabilization of some of the most vital of their urges. It has endured because it has proved in a great measure successful in achieving this end. But it has not proved entirely successful, as evidenced by the wide-spread desire in the civilized world to amend the institution in the light of changing social situations and baffled urges.

A marriage policy oriented to external circumstances is expedient so far as it goes. But a true poise of personality and union of two individuals depend much more on a culture of the spirit. It is through a deeper introspective attitude that man is able to catch the impulses and emotions at work and to curb and transmute them so that all the tendencies and dispositions of self may be consciously felt and gathered into unity and poise. The union of two personalities at this level of life represents the true spirit of marriage.

## SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF INTERMARRIAGE OF JEW AND NON-JEW

REUBEN B. RESNIK

*Jewish Committee for Personal Service, Los Angeles, California*

INTERMARRIAGE may be studied from several standpoints. One of these, for example, is the religio-historical approach. It treats of the subject from the point of view of the religion of a group and emphasizes the relation of intermarriage to the religion of that group and to the law of that state. Intermarriage may also be considered from the standpoint of amalgamation and in this respect it is concerned with the physical fusion of different ethnic groups. On the purely biological aspects of amalgamation resulting from intermarriage little scientific information is available; still less is known of the biological effects in specific cases of intermarriage. "Much remains to be done in the study of this subject" writes Professor Boas, "and considering our lack of knowledge of the elementary facts that determine the outcome of this process, I fear it behooves us to be most cautious in our reasoning. . . . The more so, since the answers to these questions concern the welfare of millions of people."<sup>1</sup>

The study of intermarriage from the standpoint of amalgamation has been approached statistically<sup>2</sup> and anthropologically.<sup>3</sup> Where the study is statistical, the intermarriage ratio, that is the number of racial intermarriages as compared with the total number of marriages, is used as an index to the rate of amalgamation of the different groups.

Still another approach to the subject is

that of assimilation, which is in a sense part of the amalgamation process. While assimilation as used here is limited to the crossing of racial traits through intermarriage, it concomitantly promotes the assimilation or fusion of social heritages. Intermarriage as an assimilation process, is concerned with the fusion of cultures occurring out of the marriage of persons with different traditions, customs, and even morals. These differences are usually social or religious or both. Considering intermarriage the blending of different cultures through the medium of specific representatives of these, the mates, intermarriage obviously becomes a social fact and its sociological significance becomes an important factor.

Intermarriage can be studied profitably in the terms of the situation in which it arises. In other words, intermarriage can be thought of as a function of certain situations—the result of stimulating forces removed from the personal element. An analysis of the individual factor is, of course, indispensable, but until the situation in which the individual's behavior was created, is studied and analyzed, an understanding of the behavior naturally remains incomplete.

Sociologists have emphasized the importance of understanding the cultural background, that is, the customs, traditions, and taboos of the group. They have stressed the point that many differences in the behavior of people are based on differences in their biological inheritances. The folkways, mores, traditions, and customs are thought of as results of the experiences of the group which have

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 263, Macmillan, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation*, Macmillan, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Morris Fishberg, *The Jews*, Scribners, 1911.

become common and habitual. It can therefore be seen that it becomes necessary in a study of intermarriage to understand the cultural setting of the person in the intermarriage. A study of intermarriage involves also a knowledge of the community in which intermarriage prevails. A study of intermarriage sociologically then is an examination of what goes on when two people of diverse cultural backgrounds marry, and in what way the intermarriage defines the situation for each mate as an individual and for the intermarried couple and its offspring as a familial unit. The sociological approach involves also a study of the inter-familial and intra-familial relationships and in what ways these stimulate, oppose, and react to the intermarriage as such. The larger external group—the circle of friends of the intermarried couple and the community—must be viewed in the light of social interaction and response. In other words, in what way does the intermarriage as part of the community influence the community and how does the community in turn influence the intermarriage.

#### MARRIAGE AND INTERMARRIAGE

Marriage is a union between a man and a woman that is sanctioned by society through the performance of a certain ceremony. Jewish—non-Jewish intermarriage, let us say, is a marriage of a man and a woman, one of whom usually has a different social and cultural background from the other. As a marriage it is subject to the social recognition that is usually accorded to marriage as a human and legal institution, and in a like manner it is subject to the difficulties that attend marriage.

That the institution of marriage during the past two generations has been threatened and that the stability of the family has been undermined, few students of the

problems would be inclined to doubt. Evidences of marital incompatibility and family disintegration are present everywhere. Recent studies in marriage seem to indicate that there are many forces which tend to disrupt what we know as happy and compatible relationships. In this connection, it may be well to note Dr. Davis' distinctive analysis as to what constitutes happiness in marriage. "The family based on the union of one man and one woman," she tells us, "will be happy according as this man and woman are happy as individuals. Their happiness will depend on three things; his conception of happiness, her conception of happiness, and how their conceptions fit together. The individual ideals of happiness have very much the same components for all of us, but we emphasize such factors as economic circumstances, physical, intellectual, and emotional satisfactions, and freedom for self-expressions."<sup>4</sup>

It has been found that many problems may exist in the marital state whether there is an intermarriage or not. For example, sexual incompatibility may exist between a Jewish husband and his Jewish wife, both of whom were born in the same city, reared on the same street, with practically the same familial ties and influences.

Obviously, it may be the cause and the only cause for that matter, of the conflict that arises in an intermarriage. It has been recognized that the sex factor is probably more commonly the cause of familial discord than would appear on the surface. students of the problem are agreed that it is the dominating influence in the marital situation. The economic factor as it begins to threaten the security and diminish the interest of the mates may make for friction. A financial problem likewise

<sup>4</sup> Katherine Bement Davis, *Sex Factors in the Lives of 2200 Women*, p. 38, Harper & Bros., 1929.

may exist in an intermarriage quite as much as it may exist in the ordinary marriage where the background of each person is identical. Another factor which deserves recognition is what has been described as the "individuation of life patterns." This may still be another cause for differences arising in the marital state. "Individuation of life patterns" is distinguished from cultural backgrounds by Mowrer when he says, "In each individual is a schematization of all habits which give them a consistency and unity. Each individual, more often unconsciously than consciously, works out for himself an outlook upon the whole of life which becomes a form of philosophy. This schematization which may be called 'his pattern of life' determines the general attitude or bias with which he will approach any problem."<sup>5</sup> Mowrer asks us to imagine twins both of whom have grown up in the same environmental influence, one of whom is an introvert and one an extrovert; that is, one has a subjective approach to life and one has an objective approach to life. It must be agreed that these twins could easily be said to have had an identical cultural background and still their outlook on life and their general schematization of their habits would be quite different. The differences in these outlooks may be so great as to make intimate association between them almost impossible.

Cultural differences may make for variance of choice in social contacts. The personalities of the two mates are undoubtedly influenced by these social contacts. The mate with strong religious ideas will undoubtedly have for his friends those whom he meets in the religious circle. The non-religious mate quite naturally will seek close friends among those out of

the church. (Restating the entire proposition, let us say then, for example, that the conservative Jew has probably a great deal more in common with the conservative non-Jew than does the conservative Jew with the Jew who is commonly termed a radical.)

One of the larger social influences tending to react on the intermarriage situation is the influence of the church. Most churches are unequivocally opposed to intermarriage. Catholicism is unconditional in demanding conversion to the Catholic faith as a prerequisite to marriage if one of the parties is not a Catholic. According to Catholicism, there are only three conditions by which the danger of mixed marriages may be, if not removed, at least reduced: (1) Both parties, especially the non-Catholic, must promise, ordinarily in writing, to bring up the children in the Catholic religion. (2) The non-Catholic must promise solemnly not to hinder in any way the Catholic mate in the practice of his or her religion. And (3) the Catholic must use every lawful means to effect the conversion of the non-Catholic partner.<sup>6</sup> (With most churches the basis for this opposition is primarily religious although the Jewish group tends to emphasize also group solidarity and group perpetuation.<sup>7</sup>) The influence of the church and religion, the foregoing would seem to indicate, is an exceedingly important one in developing the background of the person.

#### INTERMARRIAGE TYPES

1. (In evaluating intermarriage, in addition to the study of the group in terms of its traditions, sentiments, and attitudes as manifested by each mate and the relationship in which the mate stands to the group,

<sup>5</sup> Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, p. 210, University of Chicago Press, 1927.

<sup>6</sup> C. E. Schier, *Theory and Practice of the Confessional*, pp. 601-602.

<sup>7</sup> Drachsler, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

a knowledge of the inner personal world of each mate should be had.) A study of his attitudes, his wishes, his definitions and interpretations of the situation and his conception of the rôle which he plays are all necessary. An understanding of the individual factor in the intermarriage situation may be gleaned from the type of person who intermarries. For example, we know that the Jew is largely a social type. His social makeup is the product of a certain social *milieu*. The effect of isolation, the sojourn in the ghetto for many generations had undoubtedly been an influence in producing and maintaining certain social characteristics of the Jew.<sup>2</sup> What is true of the Jew is to a large extent true of any person coming from a group whose members are possessed of conflicts that are frequently found in Jewish groups. Such a person may seek and keep closer identity with his group or he may seek recognition and response in other groups. The degree of loyalty to his group or the desire to seek other groups depends upon his conception of himself in the terms of what others think of him.<sup>8</sup>

The foregoing description of a certain cultural influence will serve to bring into bolder relief the *types* of persons who intermarry. These may be classified as follows: (1) *The emancipated person*, (2) *The rebellious person*, (3) *The detached person*, (4) *The adventurous person*. These types are by no means pure. That is to say, a person may be both a rebellious and a detached person as far as the intermarriage situation is concerned. The terms designating the classifications are arbitrary choices.<sup>9</sup>

The *emancipated person*, as we have designated him, has freed himself from religious ties. With the freedom from his

religious influence comes a greater tendency to intermarry. The tendency to discard the ritualism of the religion indicates a certain desire to be unfamiliar with the traditions of the person's own group. This is well illustrated in the case of the intermarriage of the Jews in Austria in the early part of the twentieth century when Jewish intermarriages were forbidden in that country. The only course that the parties could take was for one of them to adopt the faith of the other or to declare himself or herself of no religious profession. The following document will illustrate somewhat more clearly:

My mother was quite religious until she was about sixteen. At that time her teacher and guide began to point out to her the inequality of the classes in Russia and instilled in her the idea that God was unfair or that if conditions of that kind were permitted to exist, there was no God. As a result of this influence, the teacher was discharged by the parents, but my mother grew quite skeptical about religion. . . . My father was an interesting man. He came from a family who had dropped its religion. My father's family were born Jewish, but after his father, who was a well educated and well read man, began studying the different religions, he came to the conclusion that all religions were means of exploiting people. So my father had no religious training that was Jewish. My father lived in the bigger cities of Russia, and these cities, unlike the cities of the Pale, had no Jewish Ghettos, and as a result he acquired no Jewish training or association. When he was quite young he became involved in the Revolutionary Movement in Russia, and this was one of the reasons for going to Switzerland to study.<sup>10</sup>

The above document serves as another bit of evidence in which we see that there was a very loose tie to the religious tradition. It also makes clear the point made before that none of these types is pure and that the mates in this intermarriage are not only *emancipated persons*, but are what we know as radicals. The question might be raised does one tend to become radical when he is emancipated or does one eman-

<sup>8</sup> Charles Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (rev. ed.) 151, Scribners, 1922.

<sup>9</sup> Suggested in part by Park & Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, pp. 81-119, Macmillan, 1921.

<sup>10</sup> Interview Document No. 45.

cipate himself from his religious ties when he becomes a radical?

The *rebellious person* as an intermarriage type takes form in a number of ways, as, for example, the political idealists who are "embittered against the social order represented by the state and by private property, perhaps disgusted with humanity and become propagandists for some revolutionary scheme—Bolshevism, Anarchy, Communism, or some other scheme for the distribution of values."<sup>11</sup> To this person marrying outside of the folds means little. For example, not many years ago and even at the present time, this person deliberately intermarried for the purpose of removing any religious or racial identification, with the hope that a non-religious or non-racial association would help strengthen and perpetuate his particular cause.

The *detached person*, as we consider him a type in intermarriage, is one who has broken away from the influence of his intimate associations such as the family, church, and close friends. The minute he breaks away, the control that the *primary* group may exercise becomes disrupted and the break tends to diminish its influence. The person who becomes detached from his family and close friends undergoes a weakening of the old restrictions and inhibitions. We all know the detachment one experiences when one leaves home for another city.

In New York I did some of the "craziest things"—things I would never attempt in this city. You can do things in a city where you are not known so much more easily than you can when you are living at home.<sup>12</sup>

The person who is away from his primary group influence tends to regard certain social values with attitudes that have

been acquired as a result of the influences in the new group. Frequently we find that the recognition and response in the new group become equal, if not more powerful, than that which was accorded the person by his family, friends, and other close associates prior to leaving them.

The *adventurous person* as an intermarriage type came to the attention of the writer as the result of contact with a group of men in penal institutions. Some of these men seemed to look upon marriage as "just another fling," and it did not make any particular difference who the girl was to be. To them it was just another experience—a new thrill! One of these men stated:

I met a little girl on the street car and we began talking. She didn't seem to care about me (sic) being Jewish and I kind of fell for her. I didn't think about my wife and children in New York and I'm getting a divorce from her anyway. Mary appealed to me and we began living as man and wife. She then became pregnant and her mother swore out a complaint against me. I love her and I am going to marry her as soon as I get my divorce. Life is full of experiences and this just another one.

This type, like the others, is, of course, not a pure one. There are undoubtedly a multiplicity of factors which go to make up his attitude. In most of these cases the *adventurous person* could easily have fallen into the classification of, let us say, the *detached person*, but the adventure in the situation seemed to be predominant.

#### THE WISHES IN INTERMARRIAGE

With the study of intermarriage types as a basis, we can well understand that no part of the life of the individual should be studied as dissociated from the whole of his life. In this connection we should give some consideration to a study of the wishes of the person. While concrete wishes, it is stated, are very numerous, they are capable of the following general

<sup>11</sup> Park & Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> Interview Document No. 84.

classification according to Thomas:<sup>13</sup> (1) *The desire for new experiences* (2) *The desire for security*, (3) *The desire for response*, (4) *The desire for recognition*.

We see in the *desire for new experience* the adventurous person seeking a mate for a new thrill. The cultural background and other factors may influence his choice but do not in any vital way appear to motivate his decision. (In the *desire for security* we see, for example, Jews in some cases marrying non-Jews because the former seem to feel a greater social security when they are accepted in marriage by members of the non-Jewish group.) *The desire for response* is clearly brought out by the sex factor that enters into the decision of one mate to choose another regardless of the fact that that person has or has not the same background. (*The desire for recognition* takes form in the devices for securing position and distinction in the eyes of the social group and, as a result, an enviable and advantageous social status.) This wish in intermarriage is exemplified by the rich Jews of France intermarrying with some of the decadent aristocracy of that country. A discussion of the wishes as they relate to intermarriage and the study concerning the intermarriage types bear a much more thorough presentation. Space does not permit, however, consideration of these matters in greater detail.

#### INTER-FAMILIAL AND INTRA-FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Probably one of the most significant aspects of Jewish-non-Jewish intermarriage is a study of the relationships of the respective families of the mates during the courtship and at the time of and after marriage. Since marriage is primarily a social institution and concerns not only the persons who are to marry, but others as well,

it can be seen that marriage may require the consent of not only the bride and bridegroom, but the approval of parents or other relatives of the parties.

That which we know as *tradition* seems to be the most powerful influence in developing the point of view of the parents as they view the intermarriage. Tradition is made up of the racial and religious taboos, religious and group ties, and similar cultural influences. How tradition motivates a parent is well illustrated in the following document:

My daughter has married an Italian who is a very good man. . . . My tragedy is even greater because I am a Free Thinker. Theoretically, I consider a "goi" [Gentile] just as much a man as a Jew. . . . Indeed I ask myself these questions: What would happen if my daughter married a Jewish fellow who was a good-for-nothing? . . . And what do I care if he is an Italian? But I cannot seem to answer these delicate questions. The fact is that I would prefer a refined man; but I would sooner have a common Jew than an educated "goi." Why this is so I do not know, but that is how it is, of that there is no doubt. And this shows what a terrible chasm exists between theory and practice.<sup>14</sup>

Frequently this *tradition* becomes so strong that it is even mentioned in the wills of parents, urging the children not to marry out of the faith. Among certain Jews, a generation or two ago, a father would say *Kaddish* (a prayer for the dead) over the child who was intermarried, as if he had died. Intermarriage was an unforgivable sin and was never to be condoned on grounds of love or any other basis. The bitterness, resentment, and tension that resulted in these cases between the children and parents, were likely to be communicated to the parties in the marriage and definitely affect that relationship. Frequently parental opposition expresses itself frankly on the grounds of *difference in race and religion*. This is clearly indi-

<sup>13</sup> Interview Document No. 84.

<sup>14</sup> *Jewish Daily Forward*, January 22, 1921, quoted in W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, p. 52.

cated in the following document taken from Cosmo Hamilton's *Caste*:

Jean is deplorably in love with a pianist. He is a Jew. I'll smash this up if it breaks her heart, Lorbenstein's piano and my future peace of mind. He may be a gentleman; he may be a genius; he may be as good looking as a moving picture actor; he may have enough money to buy me up, but the fact that he is a Jew makes him to us in America a pariah dog. He may be a good man, a rich man, a cultivated man, but he is a Jew and barred.<sup>15</sup>

Race prejudice is frequently expressed on the ground of *differences in physical appearance or even in the name*.

I don't care who (sic) Jean marries so long as he is an honest, decent fellow with a straight nose.<sup>16</sup>

But I assure you, you must not be called Cohen. The name is inadmissible. This is one of the trifles in which you must conform to vulgar prejudices. We could choose some other name, however,—such as singers ordinarily choose—an Italian or Spanish name which would suit your physique.

To Deronda just now the name, "Cohen" was equivalent to the ugliest of yellow badges.<sup>17</sup>

Parental opposition is capable of *accommodation*. Frequently the parents may become overtly reconciled, so to speak, but the antagonism usually remains latent as a potential force. Parents may become reconciled when there are several intermarriages in one family. In other words, the parents become accustomed to it, as in the case of a Jewish family where two of the sons had married non-Jewesses. When the third son was to be married to a non-Jewess, one of the friends remarked, "His two brothers had already married Gentiles; the parents were used to it. As a matter of fact, they might have been shocked if he married a Jewish girl."<sup>18</sup> An unusual instance of parental accom-

modation is offered by the fact that their child's first marital venture with a member of their own group was unsuccessful and they thought that "he would have better luck with a member of another group."<sup>19</sup> Parental opposition may be tempered by having one mate change his religious beliefs to the beliefs of the objecting parents. This relieves not only the conflict situation as it relates to the parents, but may also make for a better *accommodation* in the *intra-familial* relationships of the intermarried couple.

To make our analysis of intermarriage more penetrating, let us look at the intermarried couple as a familial unit and see what happens in it. It has been pointed out that difficulty in intermarriage may arise out of factors that are common in any marriage, but in intermarriage the marital status becomes an even more complicated matter due to the fact that certain conflicts arise out of the differences, not only in the individual characteristics and personalities of the mates, but to the contradictions in the folkways, mores, and beliefs of the groups in which the respective mates were reared. While these contradictions play an exceedingly important part in defining the rôle of the individual in intermarriage as well as the rôle of the intermarried couple in the community, and while these undoubtedly account for some of the conflict, we find that some sort of a conventional idealism very often excludes the recognition of the conflict. That is to say, these people have the ability to conform to many differences in our civilization—they can accept any job, any political, economic, social or educational system or almost any type of human relationship if, by accepting it, they can secure the approval of and conform to the

<sup>15</sup> Cosmo Hamilton, *Caste*, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Case Document No. 11.

<sup>17</sup> George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, I, 473, Little Brown, 1900.

<sup>18</sup> Interview Document No. 73.

<sup>19</sup> Interview Document No. 42.

pattern of their neighbors. In spite of the fact that they accept the institution of marriage in just that spirit, it does not bring them the same degree of happiness that usually fills their acceptance of most other matters.

The degree of conflict that is present in intermarriage depends not only upon the intimacy of contact between the two mates, but also on the similarity of a number of their other cultural traits. Where their intellectual interests are the same, as in the case where a husband and wife may both be very interested in radical movements or where both meet, let us say, in the "world of books," the conflict will undoubtedly become less or be removed entirely. In other words, the more widely divergent the cultural interests of the mates, the more difficult it will be to develop a harmonious relationship. (The mate who is possessed of a strong racial consciousness and racial inferiority is very likely to be unhappy, especially so when behavior becomes compensatory and takes its form in nagging, fault-finding, or extreme aggressiveness:

My wife's worshipful humility during those early weeks of our married life was discomfiting to me. She was impressed with my past, and my future positively dazzled her. She couldn't understand how I could be content to share my life with her. She was always fearing that I would be ashamed to introduce her to my friends, and I have had to assure her again and again this friend did not hate Jews. On her part, she would reassure me that I would never regret marrying her. She pledged herself many times not to be a burden to me. Indeed, she kept telling me she was going to be an asset in my life and spent much of her time day-dreaming about ways and means of doing it. She would take University courses, she would go into business; in some way she would make my climb to success more easy and more rapid. . . . I don't blame my wife for thinking the facts disagreeable. (What I am objecting to is that my wife lets her race consciousness get so under her skin that we cannot have a normal home life. As I said before, our difficulties seem to me no argument against racial

intermarriage as such. But they illustrate, I think, how hard the way is for the overly race conscious in such marriages.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, we find racial inferiority making itself noticed in a sort of altruism in which the mate who feels inferior seeks to establish his or her prowess by association in the group of the community and especially in the organization of the group in which the dominant member is active.

One of the most convincing ways of effecting what we have termed *accommodation* is the adoption of the religion, customs and ways by one mate to those which the other holds. Very frequently the newcomer catches the spirit of the new ways more readily than the mate who originally had them. We hear that Mrs. "so and so" who is non-Jewish takes more interest in Jewish activities than her Jewish husband. Sometimes in the Jewish-non-Jewish intermarriages we find the adoption of new ways goes to the point of supplying the husband with the food he used to get. For example:

You wouldn't think a little Scotch woman like that could prepare gefülte fish (a well known Jewish dish) for him. She makes potato lotkes like nobody's business. He certainly doesn't miss any of the Jewish delicacies. She prepares them much better than a lot of Jewish women I know.<sup>21</sup>

The problems and trials of the intermarried couple, because of the close identification are carried over to and by the offspring of that couple. If the parents become isolated as a result of their intermarriage, it is quite likely we shall find the same problem faced by the child. In some instances where the intermarried couple finds it possible to indulge in the activities of both groups and is accepted

<sup>20</sup> Anonymous, "My Jewish Wife" *Menorah Journal*, XVI, 456-61, May 1929.

<sup>21</sup> Interview Document No. 69.

by both groups, it is also likely that the child will have associates in both of these groups. Oftentimes the child of the intermarried couple becomes perplexed as to what he is and to what group he belongs. We have found that, as a result, the parents of these children attempt to define the place of the child in the social world. (We find further that the parents in the intermarriage, very much like most parents, fail to see the situation in the light of the child's experiences and tend to interpret the child's experience in the light of their (the parents) own.) It has also been noted that the experiences of the children of intermarriages very definitely (affect their parents) the group also expresses concern. The concern of the Jewish group regarding the children of intermarriages has been expressed in no uncertain terms. According to the data collected by Ruppin<sup>22</sup> and Fishberg,<sup>23</sup> the Jews have always maintained that the children of the intermarried couples are a distinct (loss to Judaism.) "The Negro" claims Wirth "gets all the credit for all the Mulattoes, while the offspring of mixed marriages between Jews and Christians are usually accredited to the latter."<sup>24</sup>

To urge the emphasis, it should be said again that great care must be exercised in

one's statements regarding the kind of offspring that result from intermarriage. There have been some opinions on this matter, but they still bear further investigation. Some claim that the intelligence of the offspring is not below the average. On the other hand, some state that intermarriage would tend to give rise to a greater number of neuropathic offspring than where there is no intermarriage. Some have even maintained that a large number of persons of half Jewish origin have achieved distinction in various walks of life. Montaigne, the English statesman, Halevy, the musician, Edwin Booth, the actor, Bret Harte, the novelist, Metchnikoff, the biologist, and Arthur Sullivan, the composer, are a few of the favorite examples cited to fortify this contention. Needless to say, many examples could be cited to refute it.

One need hardly be warned that the conclusions in this paper are not meant to be precise or final. It is obvious that much of the data presented is in need of further elaboration and analysis. What is needed is more material and further study, study that will not lack a systematized objectivity and will not become either an intense and embittered indictment against intermarriage or a beautifully rationalized propagandized plea for it. Only after we obtain more material and subject it to more detailed and organized scientific analysis can we arrive at conclusions that are more binding.

<sup>22</sup> Arthur Ruppin, *Jews of Today*, pp. 167-173, Holt, 1921.

<sup>23</sup> Fishberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-216.

<sup>24</sup> Wirth, Louis, *The Ghetto*, p. 65, University of Chicago Press, 1928.

A series of special lectures and seminars for Americans to be held in Paris during the fall and winter months, 1933-34 are offered by the Institute of Educational Psychology in France. Dr. Otto Rank will be the principal speaker and will conduct the advanced lectures and conferences. Care and treatment of personality disorders and modern education and child psychology are among the topics to be discussed. Further information may be had from Dr. Pearce Bailey, 320 East 72d Street, New York City, or Dr. Otto Rank, 9 Rue Louis Boilly, Paris, France.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE NEGRO AND THE DEPRESSION IN NORTH CAROLINA

GUY B. JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

THE social and economic status of the Negro makes it inevitable that he suffer seriously from the effects of the present depression. During the past six months I have been studying the effects of the depression on the Negro and race relations in North Carolina, and this paper is a summary of my findings.<sup>1</sup>

It is very difficult to obtain accurate statistical information bearing on this subject, due to several causes. In the first place, accurate data on many important points are simply not kept. It is practically impossible, for example, to find out the actual extent of unemployment among Negroes as compared with whites in a given city or county. In the second place, some of the statistical data which we do obtain are not divided according to race, and are therefore of little value for our purposes. Finally, it is doubtful whether the depression has been of sufficient length and severity up to the present to produce noticeable effects where we might logically expect them, as, for example, in morbidity and mortality rates. Bearing in mind the scarcity of data, then, let us proceed as best we can.

<sup>1</sup> This paper embodies the essential parts of papers read before the N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Raleigh, Jan. 19, 1933; the N. C. Conference for Social Service, Greensboro, April 23, 1933; and the Virginia Social Science Association, Lexington, May 6, 1933.

#### ECONOMIC ASPECTS<sup>2</sup>

The Negro, as is well known, lives nearer the margin of economic security than the white man, consequently fluctuations in employment and wages affect him more readily and more severely than they do the white man. Let us try to see briefly the status of Negro employment in North Carolina.

Unemployment data are very fragmentary. Registrations with employment bureaus do not reflect actual unemployment, but they give us some hint as to the proportion of unemployed who are Negroes. In Winston-Salem, for example, 43 per cent of the population is Negro, and 59 per cent of those registered with the City Employment Bureau are Negroes. In Durham, 36 per cent of the population is Negro, and about 40 per cent of those registered with the U. S. Employment Office are Negroes. In Elizabeth City, 37 per cent of the population is Negro, and 53 per cent of the registered unemployed are Negroes. Negroes, of course, do not register with bureaus to the same extent as whites,<sup>3</sup> so the proportion of Negroes in

<sup>2</sup> For an excellent survey of the unemployment situation among Negroes in the United States, see *The Forgotten Tenth*, a 63-page pamphlet published in May, 1933, by the National Urban League, New York City.

<sup>3</sup> One employment office, explaining the small

the total number of unemployed is really larger than these figures would indicate. On the basis of estimates which I have gathered from various sources I would say that while Negroes make up only 29 per cent of the population in this state, they make up 50 per cent or more of the unemployment. The relief data which I shall cite later seem to bear out this statement.

Unemployment figures do not tell the whole story. Thousands of workers who remain in the employed class do so by the merest margin. They have suffered cuts in wages and in hours of work, so that their earnings have gone below the level needed for bare subsistence, and they must seek aid from the relief funds.

Negro women make up a third of all Negro wage earners in North Carolina. Over half of these women are in domestic and personal service. This type of work has suffered, because many white families have had to discharge their colored servants or put them on a part-time basis. I believe, however, that Negro women have not lost employment as much as men have. The result is that they are bearing an even heavier burden than usual. In many families their little three or four dollars a week feed six or seven mouths and saves them from complete dependence on charity.

Half of the Negro workers in North Carolina are in agriculture, and 90 per cent of these are farm tenants or laborers. Here again we see that the Negro is a marginal man and is especially vulnerable to shifting conditions in agriculture. Taking the South as a whole, we find that Negro tenants were climbing the ladder to ownership rather successfully until about 1910, after which the trend reversed. Some states have been affected more than

others by the farm depression. For example, Georgia and South Carolina actually lost one-third of their farms operated by Negroes between 1920 and 1930. North Carolina fared somewhat better for a few years, in fact attracted a great many Negroes from states further South, but North Carolina is now feeling the full force of the agricultural depression.

The plight of the farmer, from landlord to humblest tenant, is well known. I am unable to determine at present the extent to which Negro farm owners have lost their farms, but observers in various parts of the state have said that the loss seems to be heavy and that it will be much worse unless conditions improve this year. One Federal Farm Loan Agent in eastern North Carolina states that about 40 per cent of the owners in his section are unable to pay taxes.

Since the majority of Negro farmers are tenants and laborers, let us see how they are faring. In November 1932, a prominent white planter of Pitt County wrote me as follows:

A good many Negroes have lived in farm houses rent free this year and in most cases have been given land for garden. They have lived hard. They are in much worse condition than a year ago.

A Negro observer in the same county wrote in February, 1933:

Tenants in this section are getting along poorly. They have difficulty in securing someone to furnish them with farming necessities. Many will be unable to farm this year for this reason. Negroes are in worse condition than whites, for many of them are made to vacate houses and jobs to be replaced by whites. In some instances two and three families are living in one house. Conditions are growing gradually worse.

The supervisor of colored schools in Bertie County wrote in November, 1932:

I found most of the suffering families in the strictly rural sections of the county. The farmers have failed for the past four years. They have tried each year to

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number of Negroes registered, wrote that "we do not take an application from them unless they seem worth while and settled."

catch up and have fallen behind until they cannot see what is best to do. . . . Hundreds of men with large families cannot get work of any kind. Landlords cannot supply their tenants. . . . The relief problem has grown more acute since the weather has grown colder. . . . Suffering is great in both races. Unless something can be done toward relief, I do not see how the people can live through the winter.

From other informants come similar pictures of Negro farm conditions. Most of them agree that without Federal Relief the situation would have been extremely acute. It should be added, however, that the general opinion is that while the plight of the Negro on the farm is bad, the plight of the Negro unemployed in the towns and

the depression. Let us hope that this habit becomes strongly entrenched and that neither landlord nor tenant forgets easily the lessons of the depression.

The pinch of depression has made itself felt all along the line. Among Negroes of the middle and upper classes, earnings have shrunk, and homes, businesses, savings and insurance have been swept away in hundreds of cases. It would probably not be going too far to say that the economic progress of the Negro in North Carolina has been set back at least ten years.

Perhaps we can get a good summary picture of unemployment and destitution

TABLE I  
RELIEF LOAD IN CERTAIN COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING FEBRUARY, 1933

COUNTY	RELIEF LOAD		PER CENT OF POPULATION— NEGRO	PER CENT OF RELIEF LOAD— NEGRO	PER CENT OF POPULATION IN COUNTY GETTING RELIEF	
	White	Negro			Negro	White
Person.....	4,275	5,625	38.9	57	65	32
Warren.....	1,800	7,785	63.5	81	52	21
Orange.....	747	3,019	32.6	80	44	5
Martin.....	2,249	3,721	47.0	59	34	18
Durham.....	5,380	7,983	34.9	59	33	12
Craven.....	3,500	4,500	48.3	56	30	11
Forsyth.....	10,225	8,025	33.3	44	21	14

cities is still worse. One white planter said:

I have more than 300 Negroes living on my farms and in my houses in town. Those living on the farm will have enough to eat and will be able to buy clothing to keep them warm. Those living in town have paid mightily little rent this year, and what they are going to do this winter I do not know. Unless they are fed and clothed by some agency outside their own, they will starve. . . . I grow sick at heart when I try to contemplate what will happen within the next year or two if things do not greatly improve for this class of our people.

There is at least one hopeful thing in the farm situation: farmers, white and colored, are growing more vegetables, hogs, and poultry for home use than they did before

among Negroes as compared with white people by looking at the proportion of Negroes in the relief load in various counties. Several county relief directors in North Carolina have been kind enough to furnish me with data on white and Negro families receiving relief in the month of February, 1933. The data are presented in Table I. (See also Figure 1.) In this table, the relief load has been computed by multiplying the family load by 4.5. The data in the last two columns are based on 1930 population figures and they therefore overstate slightly the proportion of people receiving relief. Only two of these counties have cities of more than 25,000, viz.:

Durham and Forsyth. From this table it is clear that destitution among the Negro population is much more widespread than among the white population.

A further indication of the fact that the depression is bearing heavily on Negroes is found in the fact that the counties which have the highest proportion of their population receiving the Federal relief funds are the eastern agricultural counties where there is a concentration of Negro

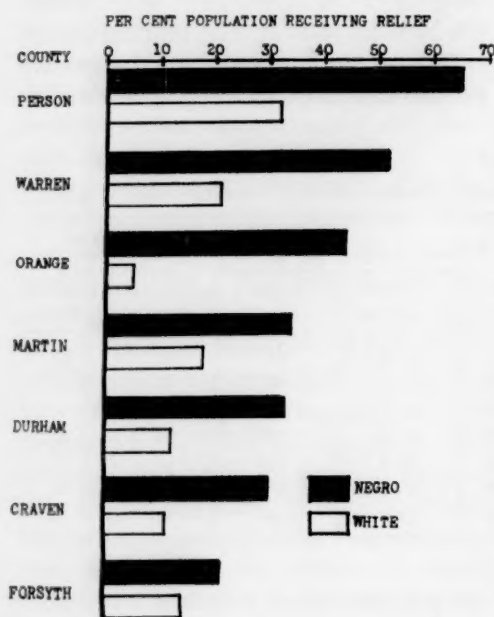


FIG. 1. PROPORTION OF POPULATION DRAWING RELIEF IN CERTAIN COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1933, FEBRUARY

population. Of the ten counties highest in proportion of their total population receiving relief in January, 1933, eight were counties having more than  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent Negroes. Of the ten counties having the lowest proportion of their total population receiving relief, only one had a Negro population amounting to one-third.

These economic effects of the depression are but symptoms of more far-reaching effects. A lower standard of living is

forced upon the people, and this means poorer food, poorer clothing and shelter, poorer health, and perhaps a lower moral condition. Furthermore, public expenditures for education, health, sanitation, care of delinquents and defectives, etc., are inevitably reduced, with unhappy consequences for the physical and social health of the people.

#### EDUCATION<sup>4</sup>

The effects on education are so well known that I shall barely touch upon them. There seems, in some sections at least, to be a heavier increase than usual in public enrollment, due perhaps to scarcity of work for children. The reduction in teachers' salaries, the curtailment of equipment, supplies, etc., all add to the burden of the individual teacher. From all over the state I have received reports of the lack of shoes and clothes among Negro children. One Negro supervisor wrote in November, 1933.

A lack of suitable clothing and shoes has caused many children to remain away from school. Those who are in school are handicapped by a lack of books. Few parents have anything to spare for books. Numbers of children come without even a piece of paper, and the teachers, . . . sacrifice something from their own salaries regularly to provide some of these necessities.

Another Negro teacher reported during the winter:

The Negro schools are suffering from lack of shoes, clothes, books, and food for the school children. The attendance is poor in some sections, since the weather is too cold for the children to walk two and three miles without sufficient shoes and clothing.

The full force of the retrenchment policy which has been followed by the last two

<sup>4</sup> For an analysis of the relation of the depression to Negro education in the South, see articles by Kelly Miller, N. C. Newbold, D. O. W. Holmes, and Chas. H. Thompson in the January, 1933, issue of *Journal of Negro Education*.

legislatures in North Carolina has not made itself felt yet. In the 1932-33 session important changes were made in the school system. In the opinion of persons qualified to judge, certain sections in the new laws were skillfully written in such a way as to make it possible to reduce terms and salaries in the Negro schools. In communities where the law is not understood and where no group is

budgets. Most of them report a decrease in enrollment and a still greater decrease in students who pay their fees. All except one of the colleges from which I have heard have reduced their teaching staff and other personnel, and teachers' salaries have been cut from 10 per cent up. College presidents and other officials are under a terrific mental strain, and several have declared that they will have to

TABLE II  
APPROPRIATIONS TO THE STATE-SUPPORTED NEGRO SCHOOLS IN NORTH CAROLINA

SCHOOL	AMOUNT RECEIVED IN 1928-29	AMOUNT RECEIVED IN 1931-32	APPROPRIATION FOR 1933-34
Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro.....	\$64,229	\$35,481	\$28,630
North Carolina State College for Negroes, Durham.....	44,117	29,050	24,170
Winston-Salem Teachers College.....	47,856	29,722	23,210
Fayetteville Normal.....	34,213	21,746	16,850
Elizabeth City Normal.....	34,399	18,418	13,780

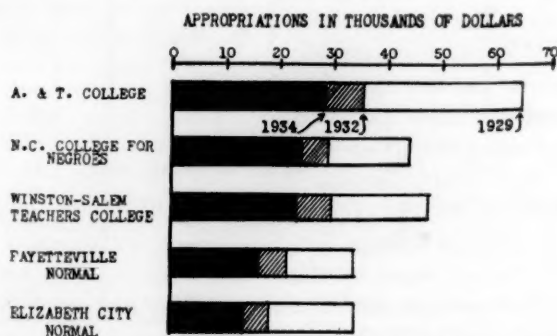


FIG. 2. SHRINKAGE IN LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS FOR NEGRO COLLEGES IN NORTH CAROLINA

on the alert to make certain requests in compliance with the law, the schools stand to suffer; and, of course, the Negro schools are more likely than the white schools to suffer from such causes. Realizing this, the North Carolina Negro Teachers' Association has recently attempted to inform Negro opinion as to the new laws and to impress it with the importance of requesting and demanding fair play in the application of the laws.

The Negro colleges, almost without exception, have suffered severe cuts in their

"shut up shop" unless conditions take a turn for the better.

The five state-supported Negro institutions in North Carolina have been treated on the same basis as the white institutions in the reduction of appropriations, but the trouble lies in the fact that the Negro institutions even in boom times were not adequately supported. President Bluford of A. and T. College, President Shepard of North Carolina College for Negroes, and other college heads, are now faced with the problem of operating on sums

ranging from \$28,630 down to \$13,780 a year. Table II shows the shrinkage of state appropriations for the Negro colleges. (See also Figure 2.)

#### HEALTH

Has the depression had any noticeable effect on Negro health? First, we may note with satisfaction that the general death rate, both white and Negro, has continued to decline. This would be expected, for it is not likely that these rates would actually increase materially unless the depression is prolonged for several years more. Furthermore, most of the specific rates seem to be following their pre-depression trends. The latest detailed data available, however, are in the *Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Vital Statistics* for the year 1931, and the report for 1932 may tell a different story with regard to specific death rates. The *North Carolina Health Bulletin* for August, 1932 stated, (p. 16): "The reports for the first five months of the present year show a definite increase in deaths from preventable diseases like typhoid and infant diseases." At the annual meeting of the North Carolina Medical Society in Raleigh last April great concern was expressed by the physicians and health officers over the effects of the depression on health and on the effectiveness of the public health work.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the possible increases mentioned above, there has been a considerable increase in the pellagra death rate for both whites and Negroes. This is a dietary disease which has been all too common among malnourished whites and Negroes in the South. As shown in Table III and Figure 3, the history of Negro pellagra death rates for the past eleven years in North Carolina shows an

<sup>5</sup> See *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 18, 19, and 20, 1933.

appreciable drop from 1922 to 1923, a gradual rise from 1923 to 1926, a sharp rise from 1926 to 1930, and a sharp drop in 1931. Several interesting questions are raised by these data, but a detailed discussion of them would take us too far afield. Briefly, I should say that the sharp ascent of the pellagra curve from 1926 to 1930 is partly artificial, in the sense that it is due to improved diagnosis, but that it also reflects the increasing insecurity of the Negro farm tenant and the shift of farm Negroes to the cities. The

TABLE III  
NEGRO DEATHS AND TOTAL DEATHS FROM PELLAGRA IN  
NORTH CAROLINA PER 100,000 POPULATION,  
1921 TO 1931

YEAR	RATE	
	Negro	Total
1921	19.5	12.4
1922	19.0	11.2
1923	9.6	8.0
1924	11.7	9.6
1925	17.4	13.7
1926	19.7	15.5
1927	33.9	22.8
1928	44.5	28.0
1929	50.6	30.4
1930	54.6	31.8
1931	38.2	21.6

drop in the curve in 1931 may also be partly artificial, but it is possible that some of it is due to farm conditions. By that time the farm situation had become so bad that many landlords were no longer "carrying" their tenants but were letting them stay in the tenant houses rent free and raise garden crops on patches of unused land. Fresh vegetables, poultry, and small game assumed a more important place in diet. Undoubtedly many Negroes on the farms have eaten more wisely in the last two years than in the days of pseudo-prosperity. Furthermore, the very

fact of the alarming increase in known pellagra deaths evoked a strong program of discovery, treatment, and prevention on the part of the State Health Depart-

the state, other diseases will begin to take a heavier toll of life. One thing is certain: the full force of the depression will not be felt immediately. Thousands of children,

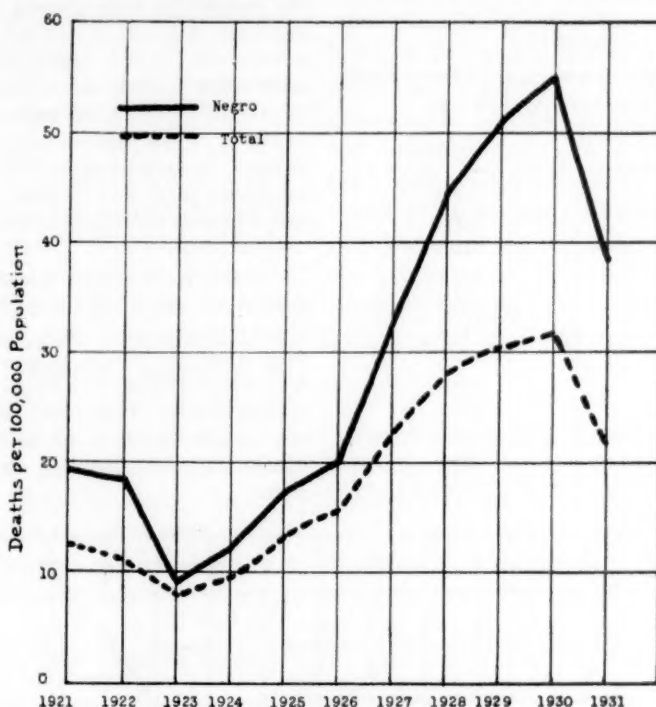


FIG. 3. NEGRO DEATH RATE AND TOTAL DEATH RATE FROM PELLAGRA PER 100,000 POPULATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1921 TO 1931

ment. Thus the unfavorable trend has been checked by several factors, but even after the decline in 1931 the Negro rate was twice as high as it was in 1921.

The real seriousness of the pellagra situation is seen more clearly when certain counties are studied separately. In 1929, for example, eleven counties accounted for 60 per cent of the Negro pellagra deaths, while in 1930 ten counties accounted for 54 per cent of such deaths. The Negro death rate from pellagra per 100,000 population for certain counties is shown in Table IV.

It may be that if the depression continues for several years, and if there is further curtailment of the public health work in

TABLE IV

NEGRO DEATHS FROM PELLAGRA PER 100,000 POPULATION IN CERTAIN COUNTIES IN 1925 AND 1930

COUNTY	1925	1930
Anson.....	0*	91.8
Forsyth.....	28.7	64.5
Franklin.....	8.0	170.0
Mecklenberg.....	27.8	86.7
Wake.....	60.2	117.9
Warren.....	34.8	114.3
Wayne.....	47.4	370.0

\* In 1926 Anson had a rate of 13.2.

white and Negro, born during this depression will carry through life the effects of undernourishment and infant diseases which might have been prevented in

normal times. It is perhaps true that the depression will reduce over-indulgence in a certain small group. It is also true that many poor and illiterate folk who never

factors. Dr. W. W. Bauer, writing in the *American Mercury* for May, 1933, puts it very aptly when he says:<sup>6</sup>

The thought has been advanced that enforced retrenchment in matters of food, in burning the candle at both ends through high-pressure business and hectic social activity, and in dissipation, will be effective in improving the health of the American people. . . . But must we have a depression that threatens the integrity of the whole world for these infinitesimal gains, doubtful benefits at the very best? Such arguments are the acme of futility.

. . . it may be many years before the payments exacted of our national health through economic collapse have been satisfied. It is, of course, the children with whom we should be principally concerned. What will be the effect upon the growing generation of enforced economy to the point of practical starvation, of a home life stalked by the spectres of despair, discouragement, disillusionment, and rebellious resentment?

TABLE V  
ILLEGITIMATE NEGRO BIRTHS PER 1,000 TOTAL BIRTHS  
IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1921 TO 1931

YEAR	RATE
1921	128.8
1922	133.1
1923	114.7
1924	113.0
1925	106.2
1926	133.6
1927	142.3
1928	152.0
1929	158.0
1930	173.3
1931	184.1

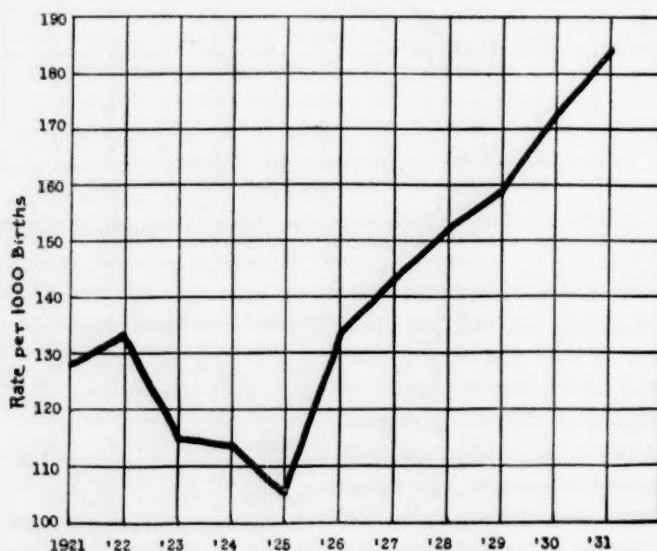


FIG. 4. ILLEGITIMATE NEGRO BIRTHS PER 1000 NEGRO BIRTHS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1921 TO 1931

knew the meaning of modern medical care have been greatly benefited through the free clinics and other charitable services which are now so common in this state. But the favorable factors are insignificant in the face of the mass of unfavorable

Those who will suffer most from food deficiencies are not the groups who still have enough to maintain reasonably adequate living standards, nor those subsisting on charity. . . . Food deficiencies will bear

<sup>6</sup> "The Death-Rate in the Depression," *American Mercury*, May, 1933, pp. 19-25.

most heavily on those who, in their distress, are nevertheless attempting with grim determination and admirable fortitude to support themselves and maintain the pride of their independence.

The suicide rate among Negroes has increased during the last few years. From 1927 to 1931 the number of reported Negro suicides in the state was as follows: 12, 16, 19, 20, 25. The numbers are suggestive of a trend but they are so low that they have little value as an index of mental strain among Negroes. The Negro masses are so accustomed to living their lives on the misery level that the depression has probably made relatively little difference in their mental adjustments. Several of my Negro informants have reported that the attitude of many of their people who are destitute seems to be one of indifference or unconcern. But the upper class of Negroes who had made a few steps up the ladder of independence and had begun to enjoy some of the safeguards and comforts which economic security alone can give them, are paying dearly now in terms of mental strain.

#### ILLEGITIMACY

Ever since 1917, the year in which the government began publishing statistics on Negro illegitimacy for the registration area, there has been an upward trend in the curve of Negro illegitimacy.<sup>7</sup> A part of this increase may be regarded as artificial, since a gradually increasing accuracy in reporting illegitimacy data would naturally produce an apparent increase. The increase in North Carolina, however, has been so rapid in the past few years that we must seek another explanation. Table V and Figure 4 present the data from 1921 to

<sup>7</sup> For a good summary of the data on Negro illegitimacy in the registration area, see E. Franklin Frazier, "An Analysis of Statistics on Negro Illegitimacy in the United States," *Social Forces*, December, 1932, pp. 249-257.

1931.<sup>8</sup> No doubt the rather heavy migration of Negroes into North Carolina in the decade just passed, together with the strong trend toward urbanization, has had a disorganizing effect on Negro family life; but it is likely that the agricultural and industrial depression has also played a part in the sharply rising illegitimacy rate among Negroes in North Carolina since 1926. Illegitimacy is, in a sense, a "normal" adjustment in Negro life, just as it was with the common white folk in the South before the Civil War, and it would be expected to increase when there are economic obstacles to legal marriage.

#### CRIME

Has the depression caused any increase in law-breaking among Negroes in North Carolina? There is considerable evidence that this question must be answered in the affirmative. While there has actually been a decrease in the number of Negroes brought to trial in the superior courts in the past few years, there has been a heavy increase in the number brought to trial in courts below the superior courts. There has been a slight increase in the last four years in superior court cases involving larceny, robbery, and manslaughter, but these data are not obtainable by race, so it is impossible to say how much of the increase is due to Negro offenders.

Commitments of both whites and Negroes to State's Prison have been increasing for a number of years, as shown in Table VI and Figure 5, but the Negro rate has increased much more sharply since 1928. This may be due in part to changes

<sup>8</sup> In this table and graph, I have used data derived from the reports of the N. C. Bureau of Vital Statistics, since they were available through the year 1931. The registration area rates from N. C. from 1921 through 1928 are: 131.1; 139.0; 134.1; 140.6; 140.2; 149.2; 151.4; 155.4. The discrepancy between the state figures and the registration area figures is not great except for the years 1923 to 1925.

in the disposition of Negro offenders, but it may also reflect a slightly higher crim-

TABLE VI

COMMITMENTS OF NEGROES AND WHITES TO STATE'S PRISON PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1922 TO 1932

BIENNIUM	NEGRO	WHITE
1922-24	48.1	20.9
1924-26	63.7	32.6
1926-28	76.4	43.8
1928-30	91.8	60.8
1930-32	136.9	70.0

ably a better index of trends in delinquency. As a preliminary step toward a more thorough investigation of the county jail records, I have tabulated the commitments of Negroes in 1928 and in 1932 in those counties which had returned complete reports for 1932 by January 15, 1933.<sup>9</sup> The results are shown in Table VII and Figure 6. There appears to be a clear trend toward increasing commitments in Forsyth, Guilford, Vance, and Edgecombe. Rockingham and Craven show practically no change, and in Wake, the

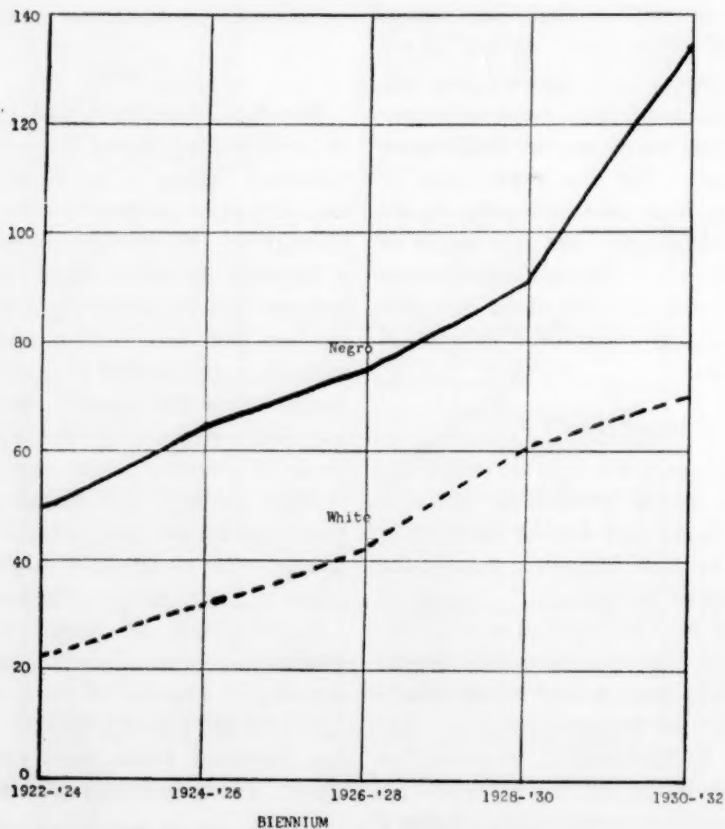


FIG. 5. WHITE AND NEGRO COMMITMENTS TO STATE'S PRISON IN NORTH CAROLINA PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1922-1932

inability rate for Negroes during the depression.

The county jail commitments are prob-

<sup>9</sup> These reports are in the office of R. Eugene Brown, Director of Division of Institutions, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare.

seat of the state capital, there is a decrease in commitments.

As a further approach to the crime situation, I sent inquiries to the sheriffs of the one hundred counties in North Carolina. The opinions of the 34 sheriffs replying are summarized in Table VIII. Typical comments from the sheriffs follow. "In-

in petty thieving. A decrease in our most prevalent crimes—disorders arising out of

TABLE VIII

OPINIONS OF SHERIFFS ON CRIME DURING THE DEPRESSION

	NUMBER OF SHERIFFS REPORTING
Negro crime:	
Increasing.....	17
Decreasing.....	4
About same.....	12
Total.....	33*
White crime:	
Increasing.....	24
Decreasing.....	2
About same.....	8
Total.....	34

\* One county has practically no Negroes and is omitted.

TABLE VII  
COMMITMENTS OF NEGROES TO CERTAIN COUNTY JAILS PER 100,000 NEGRO POPULATION, 1928 AND 1932

COUNTY	RATE PER 100,000	
	1928	1932
Rockingham.....	1,133	1,176
Edgecombe.....	1,198	1,759
Vance.....	979	1,769
Wake.....	3,087	2,777
Craven.....	3,089	3,081
Forsyth.....	2,558	3,477
Guilford.....	2,557	5,590

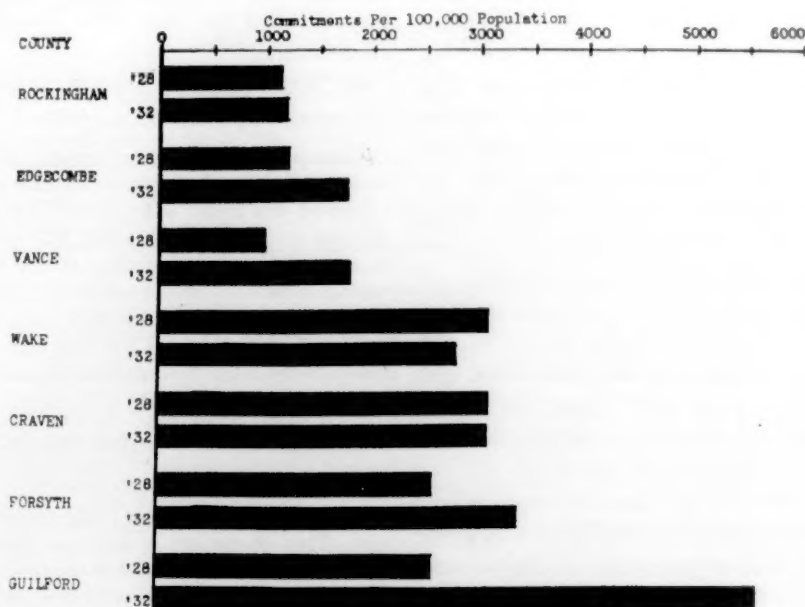


FIG. 6. COMMITMENTS OF NEGROES TO COUNTY JAILS IN CERTAIN COUNTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA PER 100,000 NEGRO POPULATION, 1928 AND 1932

crease for both whites and Negroes, especially in larceny." "A slight increase in both races in past two

intoxicants—since the depression struck us." "Increase in both races in past two

years, especially in breaking and entering, petty larceny." "Increase in both races about one-fourth since depression began."

In view of the evidence presented with regard to crime, it seems safe to conclude that the depression has contributed to a substantial increase in Negro offenses and commitments of Negroes to jails and to State's Prison.

#### RACE RELATIONS

In conversations and correspondence with a large number of Negroes in the past few months I have been struck with the prevailing spirit of optimism over the effect of the depression upon their race and upon their relations with white people. Frequently a Negro, after citing the ill effects of the depression, will say, "But the depression is doing more than anything else to draw my people together." Others say that it is "teaching the Negro the value of the dollar." A Negro farm agent says that the depression is teaching the Negro farmer thrift and the meaning of coöperation. A Negro minister reports the largest congregations he has ever had and says that "there is a turning toward spiritual things." A Negro college official writes: "The economic depression is driving the people of both races together. It is educating them into a spirit of brotherhood." A Negro editor tells of the growing comradeship between white and black hoboes as they "ride the rods" together, and of destitute white men asking for "a bite to eat" in Negro restaurants. He thinks that many a white man is learning to like and respect Negroes through such experiences. A Negro welfare officer cites instances in which Negroes have organized and campaigned for funds in order to help bear their share of the relief burden, and he believes that these activities will not only teach Negroes

some invaluable lessons but will win for them a higher degree of respect by white people. Whether these opinions conform to reality remains to be seen.

It seems to be an established fact that in the business and commercial relations of the races the behavior of white people has become, on the whole, more courteous and considerate. Negroes no longer have to resort to subterfuge to obtain Pullman accommodations, and in their travels in trains and buses they are treated more courteously than formerly. In many stores and shops they meet with more respectful treatment than they received before the slump. Several of the leading department stores in North Carolina have learned in the past few years to address mail to their colored patrons with *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, or *Miss* prefixed just as they do for their white patrons. In Durham the leading Negro business man has lately been invited to join the Chamber of Commerce.

A Negro college student relates the following experience:

A friend of mine and I went shopping one day in Raleigh before the slump had taken such a grip here. I preceded this friend, and the clerk was about to serve me when he spied my friend, who is white as far as color is concerned, and served him before returning to me. Recently I was in this same store, and despite the fact that I was immediately followed by several white youths, I was waited on first and shown every courtesy—including the usual "Call again."

Another student makes the following observations:

The clerks in the stores are more courteous than ever. They do not try to keep you from buying things that you want. Before the depression, if you went into a store and saw a dress or a hat that you wanted and asked to try it on, the clerk would say, "You don't want to pay that price for this," or "This will soon be out of style." They would try to put something cheaper on you if they could. Now if you go into a store and ask to see something, they

show it to you regardless of price and try to get you to buy it. They give you service with a smile. Some department stores send to their Negro patrons cards and circulars telling of the arrival of new goods.

Without a doubt the depression has made white business conscious of the Negro consumer, with the result that a definite improvement in white business attitudes has taken place. Furthermore there is reason to believe that some of these changes will be permanent for, once they have become common, white competition and Negro race consciousness will operate to perpetuate them. We should not make the mistake, however, of hailing these changes as the sign of a new day in race relations. If the depression has improved certain relationships between whites and Negroes, it has also created new opportunities for friction—

friction over work, friction over wages, friction over the distribution of relief funds and jobs—and we may be certain that the basic pattern of race relations in North Carolina has not changed significantly since the depression began.

The complete story of the depression cannot be told yet. How long will it be before we can speak of the depression in the past tense? How long shall relief be continued? What will happen when it is withdrawn? Are we pauperizing and demoralizing a large part of our population of both races by our relief practices? Many problems lie ahead. After the turn for the better comes, we shall face a long and tedious climb back to something resembling "normal." The Negro, being the man farthest down, will be the last to recover.

#### CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN LEADERS

A conference of southern leaders was held on April 7-8, 1933 at the University of North Carolina under the auspices of the American Library Association and the Southeastern Library Association to consider primarily the status of libraries, books and reading in the South. As reported by the A. L. A., the conclusions and recommendations of the conference emphasized the necessity of maintaining the services of the institutions which promote general education and wholesome living, such as, schools, colleges, universities, libraries, museums, churches, and other character building agencies; called attention to the unequaled natural resources of the South and stated that only proper social and economic planning are required for the realization of adequate educational, cultural, and social welfare services for all its citizens; expressed the need for constructive economy in government but called attention to the fact that as a result of the depression the demands upon the social and cultural services of the government have increased, and especially was this true of libraries; called for the reorganization of local government, the abolition of the spoils system in the selection of public officials, the enlargement of the areas of government in the South by the consolidation of counties or consolidation of functions as between counties; declared that "Free public library service is an indispensable part of a well-rounded program of community life," and that "Inasmuch as so many governmental units in every southern state are apparently unable at present to support public library service, it is reasonable to look to each state to organize, administer, and support a statewide system of public library service;" urged the formation of citizens' councils in every community to study problems of local government, evaluate the various services, and plan to eliminate waste and preserve essential services; commended the advances made possible by benefactions of individuals and foundations, by coöperation of the press, the radio, and other agencies of publicity, of government officials and of many local and national organizations; and stated that "continued and increased interest and activities on the part of these friends of culture is the hope of maintaining these advances in the present economic crisis and of assuring the cultural development demanded by the new social order."

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research

### SOME ASPECTS OF AUSTRALIAN STATE-FEDERAL RELATIONS

KENNETH O. WARNER

*University of Arkansas*

STUDENTS of public affairs reared under the aegis of American political institutions are coming to view the phenomenon of a huge state-federal bureaucracy, extra-constitutional as it may be, as an integral part of the political regime of the United States. Superimposed upon the constitutional background of state and federal governments of the United States, this vast network of state-federal arrangements gave rise to the epitome "vanishing rights of states;" the new system apparently breached the gaps of constitutional federal government severely interpreted. By means of this gradually developed state-federal hierarchy, the national government affords states varied types of assistance ranging from casual advice in the form of research data provided by agencies of the national government, to the more formal mechanism revealed in the American system of federal aid and subsidy. Among the latter are included the now familiar grants in aid of road building, land grants to colleges, financial assistance for agricultural experiment and teaching, vocational rehabilitation, as well as others. Since the system itself is subject to constant change, or at least a definite shift of emphasis, both defenders and opponents may

find something instructive in certain aspects of Australian state-federal relations.

Cardinal characteristics of Australian state-federal arrangements should command the attention of Americans. As will be revealed, in some cases Dominion practices clearly follow precedents laid down by the United States, but more significant, in other cases the Commonwealth of Australia goes far beyond this country in elaborating ways and means of adjusting the complex relations between parties to the federal compact. In the latter instance Australian practices may become precedents for American action, or at least they may herald a modification or expansion of American arrangements in the direction taken by the Dominion.

In the Australian federal system, a keystone position is occupied by the ministerial conference. Corresponding in a general way to the governors' conference of the United States, which deals chiefly with interstate relations, the ministerial conference addresses itself primarily to a consideration of state-federal matters. Ministerial conferences are not perfunctory; they are called as occasion demands, and to this extent are more elastic than conferences of governors which are annual affairs. From the advent of federal

tion in 1901, conferences of federal prime minister and state premiers, as well as other ministers of states and Commonwealth, have convened to consider a multiplicity of matters. Health, railways, taxation, tariff, uniformity of laws, navigation, immigration, banks, transportation, communication, loans, and unemployment, have been subjected to examination at ministerial conferences. Resolutions coming out of these conferences often result in formulation of state as well as Commonwealth policies, and exchange of information proves exceedingly valuable to all participants.

Decisions of the various ministerial conferences not infrequently crystallize in legislative agreements between states and the Commonwealth, a feature which practically finds its counterpart in the United States. As will be described, full use has been made of this mechanism whereby states enter into agreements with the Commonwealth government, according to terms prescribed by the federal parliament and validated by appropriate state legislation. This procedure permits potential federal domination, even though state acceptance of any agreement is wholly voluntary and optional. Logically, legislative agreements often demand further co-operation between the various administrative departments of Australian governments. The resulting administrative agreements are not wholly unlike similar practices in the United States, as for example, those developed in the realm of prohibition, vocational rehabilitation, public health, labor services—unemployment bureaus and the like—interstate commerce, scientific activities such as exist in the Bureaus of Mines and Reclamation, and roadbuilding.

Financial disabilities accruing to Australian states as a result of federation are held to be the chief reason for federal

assistance of three distinct types. First, states were allowed to alter and regulate tariffs on interstate and foreign imports for a period of two years after federation. Under this arrangement, levying of customs duties was a state function and collection a federal function. Second, states received financial assistance from tariff revenue through constitutional provisions granting them monthly payments of surplus revenue. In various forms this provision remained operative until 1927; thereafter surplus revenue has been returned by a third financial arrangement, namely, outright money grants to states. Unlike the Constitution of the United States, the Australian document specifically authorizes financial assistance to states. It is no wonder that the Dominion has far outstripped the United States in allotting outright grants to states with absolutely no federal dictation as to disposition of the funds. Every state has benefited thereby on frequent occasions, whereas in the United States—in spite of the dearth of constitutional authority—surplus revenue to the extent of twenty million dollars was appropriated only on one occasion, in 1837.

Determination of the precise amounts allotable to states under various grant acts follows no definite principle. It is notable, however, that outright grants from the Commonwealth have not been requested specifically to ameliorate the current financial dilemma in which Australian governments find themselves. States have solicited financial assistance on grounds of inability independently to carry out their reserved powers under the Constitution, such as health administration, education and development, and the maintenance of public credit. The adverse effect of Commonwealth tariff policies on revenues of agricultural states such as Western Australia, Tasmania,

and South Australia, has been advanced as legitimate ground for federal aid of this type. In 1931 South Australia sought a sum of £1,651,000 in order to attain the "same financial position she could achieve by seceding." Heretofore the secession movement in Australia has been comparatively inarticulate, but it was given impetus in April 1933 when Western Australia, in a state referendum, voted to secede from the federal Commonwealth. Although the Commonwealth was established as an "indissoluble union," the action of Western Australia may forebode a delicate problem. Some basis for judging the justification of secession in this or any other Australian state may be provided in the ensuing pages.

The Australian scheme of federal aid roads offers interesting contrasts and comparisons with the corresponding system of the United States. Inaugurated in 1923, state-federal road administration has progressed through three distinct stages. At the outset all states accepted the Federal Aid Roads Agreement whereby the Commonwealth offered states £500,000 annually for building main roads; in 1923 the federal government increased the subvention to double the original amount. Federal contributions were matched by states until 1926, when the Commonwealth awarded states £2,000,000 annually for a period of ten years, to provide for construction and reconstruction of roads used in connection with inter-state trade and commerce. Sums allottable to states according to the 1926 agreement were determined by a ratio of population and area in the proportion of three-fifths population and two-fifths area, with states contributing to a general fund at the rate of fifteen shillings for each pound sterling paid by the Commonwealth. The third and final stage of state-federal highway administration was reached in 1931, when

states were awarded sums of money in approximately the same ratio as previously, but depending upon the amount of Commonwealth customs and excise revenue exacted from petrol and similar products. The last federal aid roads arrangement measurably reduced Commonwealth contributions during the period of the agreement terminating January 1, 1937.

Provisions of the Roads Agreement permit a large degree of federally centralized control over highway finance and administration. In this respect, it appears clear that the Commonwealth goes fully as far as the United States. Substantiation of this contention is derived from such provisions as the following: the source of state moneys for roadbuilding is partially determined by the Commonwealth since it is established that a fixed sum must be provided from revenue; payment of money to states is withheld until completion of the roads; exceptions to contract projects must be approved by the appropriate Commonwealth minister; every road constructed or reconstructed under the agreement must be maintained by the state to the satisfaction of the Commonwealth, with continuance of payment dependent thereupon; and Commonwealth authorities determine the allocation of federal aid roads. If there is any odium attached to the position occupied by the Commonwealth in the foregoing matters, it may be offset partially, as has been observed, by the fact that Australian states are not forced to match the "federal dollar" as in the United States. It is notable that states apathetically support the roads arrangement, particularly because many federal aid roads were allocated (by Commonwealth authorities) to parallel state-owned railways, thus bleeding instead of feeding state public services.

Under the present pressing circumstances

of state finance it is questionable whether the revised agreement of 1931 will run its full course; in fact the matter was to have come before late sessions of the 1932 parliament. To ameliorate the situation, throughout 1931 and 1932 Commonwealth authorities permitted states to use federal moneys for road maintenance rather than for road construction, as contemplated in the Agreement.

Co-operative state-federal railway arrangements are necessitated in the Commonwealth since railways are owned and operated by each state as well as the federal government. State railways, originally constructed to develop virgin territory, struggle beneath capital expenditures far beyond states' capacity to bear. No small portion of the unbalanced state budgets may be attributed to this fact. The Commonwealth, aside from the nationalistic impulse for unification of transportation facilities, has, because of federal assumption of state indebtedness in 1929, a peculiar interest in railway management as a means of relief from the consequent huge financial burden. Railway authorities have agreed upon a far-reaching program which will divest this form of transportation of political control, end unnecessary duplication of services, and reduce the number of authorities controlling industrial conditions affecting railways. Likewise it is proposed to create a single body with plenary powers over all railway facilities in the Commonwealth. Proposals emanating from the February 1932 Conference of Australian Railways and Transport Authorities call for curtailment of annual railway expenses in the amount of £3,854,850.

Several positive results have been attained in the realm of state-federal railway administration. Through a series of legislative and administrative agreements commencing in 1907, state and federal

governments co-operated in constructing a trans-Australian railway of uniform gauge. These agreements relate to building, maintenance, and inter-usage of railways, as well as equipment. In contrast with the United States, inter-state rate regulation depends wholly upon agreements between states, for although the federal government possesses adequate regulatory authority it has failed to do so because Commonwealth authorities neglected to reappoint members to the Inter-State Commission, an administrative body designed to control, among other things, matters pertaining to inter-state railway rates and fares.

The most distinctive feature of Australian state-federal relations exists in the field of public finance. Here the Commonwealth practices substantially set aside American precedents and, in the realm of debt consolidation and conversion—especially, Australian fiscal matters attain a new maximum in national centralization.

First, in the realm of taxation, two types of tax-administration agreements provide possibility of greater economy for states and Commonwealth. Under an agreement of 1921, all Western Australian taxes are collected by the Commonwealth for a sum agreed upon by the respective tax commissioners. Besides the possible savings in aggregate cost of tax-collection through amalgamated departments, the scheme tends to produce uniformity of tax law and interpretation. Individuals benefit by a less cumbersome and more convenient system, and the state profits by being spared the full support of a separate department. As a result of a 1923 agreement between the Commonwealth and all states excepting Western Australia, state tax-officers collect the Commonwealth income tax in return for suitable compensation. Space prevents in

clusion of the details of the foregoing agreements, but it may be submitted that they contain potential suggestions for American research workers who are now consumed with solution of knotty problems of state-federal tax administration no less than those relating to a diminution of the field of double taxation.

Another state-federal financial arrangement permits the consolidation of state government savings banks with the Commonwealth Savings Bank, also a government institution. By agreement, the assets, liabilities, and business of all but two state savings banks have been transferred to, and are now administered by, the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth dictatorship over state finance results from creation of the Australian Loan Council. By an arrangement embodied in the Financial Validation Agreement Act of 1929, to be effective for fifty-eight years, the Commonwealth through the Loan Council assumed all state debts in the amount of £672,120,415. Payment of interest on these debts remains a state obligation although guaranteed by the Commonwealth, but the federal government lightens the interest burden by annual state subsidies amounting to £7,584,912. Furthermore all states and the Commonwealth are required to make contributions toward sinking funds for the redemption of past and future loans. Finally, under provisions governing operation of the Loan Council, the Commonwealth now controls both internal and external borrowing of state and federal governments.

Creation of the Loan Council was the first in a series of co-operative efforts to unite Australian governments in their battle against world economic conditions. The reasons underlying establishment of the Council were: (1) to enhance Australia's credit at home and abroad; (2)

to arrange loans with the least possible disturbance of the money market; (3) to take advantage of favorable financial conditions; (4) to decrease state interest rates through absence of competition with the Commonwealth in the loan markets; (5) to obtain strict limitation of loan programs; (6) to provide proper provision for a sound sinking fund in respect of all new debts created by the Loan Council.

Early in 1931 the Commonwealth's guarantee of interest on a state debt came to its first test. Premier Lang of New South Wales officially informed Commonwealth Prime Minister Scullin that interest due April 1, 1931, to London holders of New South Wales bonds, would not be met. Under the Financial Agreement the Commonwealth immediately assumed the interest and took definite action to obtain payment from New South Wales. The uncertainty of Commonwealth power to enforce payment, and the clear attempts by Premier Lang to restrain payments demanded by the Commonwealth, combined to produce a chaotic condition. A final and satisfactory solution was attained by the force of two events: First, dissolution of the Lang ministry, by Governor Game, an act upheld by the privy council when Lang appealed on the grounds of constitutionality; and, second, appropriate federal legislation. In March, 1932, the Commonwealth enacted the Financial Agreement Enforcement Act, definitely empowering federal attachment of state revenues in fulfilment of obligations owing the national government by states under the conditions of any and all state-commonwealth financial agreements. The Enforcement Act was suspended after the New South Wales obligations had been collected.

State-federal relations since 1931 have been fashioned by a series of six ministerial conferences held between February, 1931,

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and July, 1932. From these conferences emerged Australia's three-year plan of economic rehabilitation as well as definite proposals looking toward its realization.

Australia's three-year plan, better known as the Premiers' plan of 1931, proposed five definite measures designed to balance all Australian budgets by 1934. The Premiers' plan calls for:

1. A reduction of 20 per cent in all adjustable Government expenditures, as compared with the year ending June 30, 1930, including emoluments, wages, salaries, and pensions paid by the Governments, whether fixed by statute or otherwise.

2. Conversion of the internal debts of the Governments on the basis of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent reduction of interest.

3. The securing of additional state and federal revenue by taxation.

4. A reduction of bank and savings bank rates of interest on deposits and advances.

5. Relief in respect of private mortgages.

Commonwealth support of the Premiers' plan was immediate. In accordance with provisions of the Constitution and the Financial Agreement Act, the federal government passed a Debt Conversion Agreement Act, July 30, 1931, which was shortly accepted by all states. The conversion applied to all internal state and Commonwealth debts then controlled by the Loan Council. Bond holders in the amount of £556,000,000 were invited to convert holdings on a basis of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent reduction of interest, receiving therefor new securities with a (reduced) basic interest of 4 per cent and extended dates of maturity ranging from 7 to 30 years. All but 3 per cent of the securities were converted within the required period of 21 days; therefore parliament converted automatically the securities of dissentients. The estimated interest savings to be effected by the conversion amount to £6,500,000 annually, the first reduction

becoming effective during the fiscal year ending July 1, 1933.

In further fulfillment of its portion of the Premiers' plan, the Commonwealth parliament imposed four special taxes during the past two years. A primage duty of 10 per cent on imports; a special tax of 10 per cent on income from property; a 5 per cent sales tax; and a percentage addition to the normal income tax, calculated to bring in £800,000.

Several federal policies offset the foregoing tax increases. The Commonwealth is continuing outright financial grants to South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, amounting to slightly less than £2,000,000 for the present year. Likewise, as will be seen, the Commonwealth has arranged for grants to states for unemployment relief. The federal government also permits tax relief by allowing refunds and a temporary moratorium on land taxes in cases of hardship. Finally, as a result of the May, 1932, Queensland Meat Inspection Act, that state has been relieved of maintaining a separate meat inspection department as Commonwealth officers now inspect for both the federal and state governments.

Besides increasing taxes, the Commonwealth set a standard for states by substantially curtailing expenditures. Some of the more important retrenchments include public service salaries, 19.5 per cent; old age pension and maternity allowances, 14.1 per cent; ministerial allowances, 30 per cent; parliamentary allowances, 25 per cent; war and repatriation £2,000,000 annually. These and other economies, it is estimated, will reduce 1932-33 expenditures £2,930,585 below those of the previous year, and save the Commonwealth £11,312,278 as compared with costs of federal government three years ago.

The significance of the foregoing Commonwealth efforts to balance her budget and thereby contribute to Australian re-

habilitation, becomes evident with the knowledge that an anticipated deficit of over £10,000,000 in 1930-31 was turned into a surplus of £1,314,191 for the fiscal year 1931-32. The surplus may be accounted for by debt relief resulting from the suspension of payments on principle owing to Great Britain and also debt postponements under the Hoover Moratorium, in amounts totaling approximately £5,900,000. Although the government announced (Sept. 1932) a balanced budget for 1932-33, fiscal proposals at that time did not provide for certain debt payments on the assumption of a continued moratorium.

From the standpoint of state-federal relations, unusual interest centers in the federal Financial Emergency (State Legislation) Act of May, 1932. Apparently the object of this law was three-fold: first, to assure priority payment of certain obligations owing the federal government by taxpayers, second, to relieve mortgages of state taxes within certain limits, and third, to relieve certain businesses of state taxation by proclamation of the Governor-General upon an appropriate resolution of both Houses of Parliament. It was contemplated that the Emergency Act would operate until May, 1934, but its force was suspended within a few months after enactment. It still remains within the power and discretion of the Governor-General to revive the Emergency Act by Proclamation when in his opinion it is desirable that the suspension shall cease to have effect.

State efforts to execute terms of the Premiers' plan are no less important than those of the Commonwealth. State ministers were of one accord that the plan should be carried out on a long-term basis as well as for immediate relief, and that economic equilibrium through budget-balancing was consonant with a revival of business and a reduction of unemploy-

ment. To obtain a better balance between costs and prices in industry, a committee, reporting to the April, 1932 Conference of Ministers, recommended that "parliament should authorize the Commonwealth Bank to manage the exchange rate to this end, taking into account economic conditions." Further relief, it was agreed, could be attained by encouraging public works, manipulation of the customs tariff, loosening restrictions on industry, providing government loans to private enterprises, direct relief and sustenance, and establishment of federal and state employment councils.

Several positive steps were taken by states. On the basis of laws passed in 1930, states revised upward their tax scales, and imposed special unemployment taxes. Collection of state unemployment relief wages-taxes was facilitated by an agreement with the Commonwealth whereby the latter undertook a fortnightly collection of such taxes from its public servants. Furthermore, adjustable expenditures were reduced by methods similar to those pursued by the Commonwealth, namely, personnel reductions, salary and pension cuts. Also, every state provided unemployment relief, under varying terms, in the form of sustenance. The cost of food relief in New South Wales alone was estimated in May, 1932, to be from £6,000,000 to £8,000,000. Likewise, all states excepting New South Wales established Unemployment Relief Councils for administration of moneys available for public works.

From the foregoing account it appears that relief of unemployment is primarily a function of the individual states. In many respects, however, the Commonwealth has set the pace for and co-operates with states in this labor. For example, in 1931 the federal government appropriated £250,000 to be used on national public works prescribed by the Governor-

General. By an Act of May, 1932, the Commonwealth granted to states a total of £1,800,000 to be used on public works approved by state established employment councils, on condition that states provide an equivalent amount. The case of New South Wales is an exception to the general procedure, for in that state the sum is to be administered by an employment council established by the Governor-General, whereas in all other states the federal government merely obtains representation on state selected councils. Federal moneys may be loaned by states to authorities constituted under state laws, in which case the Commonwealth demands repayment of the principal but contributes one-half of the interest with states contributing the other half. In all instances where moneys are utilized for state works, they may be regarded as indirect federal grants in aid of unemployment.

Interest reductions contemplated by the Premiers' plan, have been effected on trading deposits in state government banks as well as private institutions. Likewise, state laws decreased private mortgage interest by  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

States have tackled the farm problem without extensive federal co-operation, the exception being in the case of the Commonwealth wheat bounty. As exemplified in South Australia, farmers have benefited by (1) drought and supply relief in the form of loans; (2) lower interest rates; (3) postponement of principal payments; (4) and protection against repossession of chattels. In South Australia, a Debt Adjustment Act protects land-holders by means of a quasimortgage.

Premiers in conference, September, 1931, agreed that a plan of settlement and writing down of farm debts is imperative, and that a committee representing farmers and chief creditors might be expected

to recommend the method of debt payments, including a revision of the total indebtedness in relation to farmers' ability to pay. Several possibilities of adjustment were proposed: (1) By appointing local tribunals to examine individually each case; (2) by cutting all debts on a flat percentage basis; and (3) by constructing a sliding scale of debt payment based upon the future price of wheat. For example, indebtedness contracted with wheat at \$1 would be discharged in proportion to the wheat price when the obligation came due.

As the matter now stands debt adjustment by states does not function effectively. Complete satisfaction in this regard cannot be obtained without further federal co-operation. This demand for Commonwealth co-operation results from the fact that the moment an individual becomes insolvent he is subject to jurisdiction of the Federal Bankruptcy Act, and concurrent state laws are thereby subordinate to Commonwealth law on the subject. There is a justifiable sentiment that the Commonwealth should reverse its decision to leave debt adjustment to states and instead lend assistance by extending operation of the federal Bankruptcy Act to cover debt adjustment. This request has already been made by state authorities.

Although the foregoing account does not present a full picture of Australian state-federal relations, it may be said safely that this phenomenon occupies a central position in the Australian governmental regime. In many instances it is apparent that a demand for state-federal co-operation has arisen from practical deficiencies of the federal structure. The tendency toward federal centralization has been strengthened measurably by recent developments especially in the field of public finance.

## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH AND THE NIRA

HARRIET L. HERRING

*University of North Carolina*

SOCIAL workers have long been accused of having an eye single to the patching up of existing ills; of having no social, and especially no economic philosophy looking toward reform of conditions which cause those ills. Even social workers themselves are now reminding their profession of this weakness, as June Purcell Guild in a recent number of *Social Forces*, and still more forcibly in the *Nation* of June 14.

What are the tens of thousands of American social workers thinking in these days of depression? . . . To what extent do they comprehend the basic causes of the increased need for their activities? . . . As one who has called herself professional social worker for years on end, I must answer regretfully that most social workers are much too busy to think about the social implications of their task. . . . Many of them, of course, realize that economic maladjustment lies at the root of the need for most social work, but comparatively few social workers regard it as their concern. Of those who see the futility of much present-day social work and privately admit the paucity of its tangible results, not many are saying, above a whisper, that social work effects no social reforms. . . .

. . . I believe the time has come for social workers to meet existing issues with a comprehensive program of social reform. Aiding individuals one by one is essential. Organizing community-welfare plans is also well and good. Clearly, however, something more far-reaching is also needed. For those who would call themselves social workers there is no escaping the social challenge of the times.

Now the business of formulating a new social order is a large task to lay upon the social workers' already overburdened shoulders. But who, may I ask, can have a more vivid conviction of its absolute necessity than those who are charged with the thankless task of cleaning up the wreckage of the old mistakes? Who can have a more powerful incentive to permanent improvement than those who see the waste and futility of patching up the old system?

Whether social workers formulate one or not, here in this year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and thirty-three, the social worker and the rest of us have a fundamental reform of our economic system precipitated upon us in the form of the New Deal. Mr. Roosevelt and the Congress worked at the principles of it for over three months. A whole army of administrators are swinging into action to put the principles into effect. The editors and the orators have already exhausted the superlatives in describing the epoch-making quality of these measures. We have heard them so often that already they are beginning to sound like commonplaces. That is a pity. The changes are truly momentous. Their effects are going to reach down to the least of us; indeed, the

least of us is going to have a part, passive if not active, in this economic and social revolution. For neither editors nor orators have used too many superlatives in describing the far-reaching changes which seem likely to result from just half of one of the many important acts passed since March 9. I refer to Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act. It proposes to control production through codes of fair practice drawn up by firmly knit trade associations; to shorten the hours for individual workers enough to spread the available employment among the largest possible number of workers; to insure for those shorter hours a wage that will enable workers to buy more of the products of industry and farm; to suspend as much of our law limiting trusts and monopolies as necessary to permit control of prices which will insure cost of production to industry at these higher wages; to guarantee protection to workers in their to organize and bargain collectively; to give to these newly strengthened trade associations power to police the industry and, if they cannot do it, to enforce the provisions of the code by government authority. These are measures that change the foundations of our economic life.

I do not have the space here, even if I had the ability or the gift of prophecy, to go into all those changes. There is, however, one phase of the question about which I have thought much, which I believe will be of great importance in the South. This is a change in the thinking, the whole psychology, which I believe must take place before the policy and the machinery of this Act can operate without untold friction and irritation in many communities. I refer to the field of industrial relations. The South has many ideas on this subject that won't work with this part of the New Deal. I think that all of us as citizens have a special task to

perform in this psychological readjustment. Social workers may have many opportunities for special services in their communities. For industrial relations are bound to change, and it happens that because of their history and their whole pattern of thought on the subject, changes for the South are apt to be painful.

May I remind the reader of some of that history out of which that pattern has grown, and upon which this revolutionary system is to be superimposed? For a generation before the Civil War and a generation after it, the social and economic system in the South was creating a class of people socially and economically disinherited. The salvation of this group was, quite as much as profits, the object of the early leaders in the attempt to build industry. When industrial development became popular every leader mounting the band wagon paid at least lip service to this idea. The public became convinced by what it saw as well as by what it heard. It helped to exalt industry and industrialists for giving work to idle hands, a cash wage to the moneyless tenant, a school, a church, and community life to isolated mountaineers. The public saw all this and approved. The fact that it was accompanied by imposing brick factories and growing towns and sizeable dividends made it seem all the more an unmixed blessing. If some of the home-folks joined with outside critics on the evils of child labor, they answered as vigorously as the manufacturers themselves the rest of the attacks on the system. The paternalistic employer had schemes for the pleasure and profit of his whole group of employees and gave individual care to individuals in emergencies. He stood high in the community for these as much as for his social and financial position.

Contrariwise, all inharmonious move-

ments were looked upon with disapproval. Outside criticism of the motives and the methods of this industrial system were discredited as the ravings of theorists who did not know conditions. Legal measures which might hamper industrial growth were denounced as instigated by other regions jealous of its rise into prosperity. Most of all, attempts at unionization were distrusted as stabs in the back because they would rouse the docile, contented southern worker and destroy one of the chief assets of the South for manufacturing. Organization was feared as a creator of group consciousness and group struggle, as a disturber of community peace. The general public looked on each of the five or six major attempts to organize southern labor with cold disapproval if the center of activity was far off, and with hot condemnation if it was near at hand. It is needless to add that the attitude of the manufacturers was the same much intensified. There is no cause for wonder at that. It is certainly more profitable to operate a business without effective demands by labor for a share of those profits. It is infinitely less complicated when one man can formulate company policies and announce decisions without having to consult obstreperous and sometimes unreasonable representatives of labor.

So much for the attitudes of the public and the manufacturer. What of the worker? What was happening to him during the building up of this elaborate pattern of public approval of industry and the way the industrialist was running it?

His attitude has been as much the product of his history as those of the public and manufacturer have been of theirs. But their history and their thinking have made them unified almost to unanimity. His has divided him against himself and against his fellows. The worker has been at once class-conscious and individualistic

with the weakness of each characteristic and the strength of neither.

The workers were class-conscious because of a long history of economic, social, and political disinheritance. As poor white trash, or as small farmer, or even as the owner of a slave or two, they knew they had little chance of advancement without the land and slaves that meant not only wealth but opportunity. Each strove to attain land and slaves because these were the insignia of economic importance which would bring social and political importance with them. Some achieved it, more strove without achieving, and all recognized the class stratification. The tenant system after the Civil War simply changed the legal status of the Negro, but hardly the social pattern of his competition with the whites.

Now, class-consciousness is the firmest base upon which to build a strong labor movement. It is what has made these movements so strong in England and Germany. In the South, however, it has been a weakening factor because it was based on a sort of inferiority complex. The groups from which the industrial workers were recruited felt inferior because they were so regarded by the controlling class, and because they accepted the standards of the controlling class as the only ones to strive for. They could not, from their very history, see when they went into industry that here was an opportunity to strive in a different way, as a group for group power. The very fact that there were social stratifications among those who came to the factories made group action less possible: the mountaineer despised the low- and white trash, the former land owner who had fallen on evil days felt above the lowly cropper.

Industry accentuated these distinctions. Within a factory there are as many stratifications as in an army, ranging from the

humble sweeper, through the skilled piece worker to the foreman and superintendent. There are stratifications between industries, all based on historical, social, and economic differences too complex to go into here. The tobacco worker and the hosiery worker feel above the cotton mill hand; the furniture worker above all three and the more skilled mechanical and building trades above all the rest.

Industry accentuated the old individualism of the rural dweller, of the farmer struggling single-handed for more land. Rapidly expanding industry offered many opportunities for the ambitious and the able to advance and there are thousands of men in southern industry who have made their way upward by sheer hard work and ability as individuals. These men would not have been willing to be held down by the seniority rules and the long periods of apprenticeship with which strong group organization would have hedged them about. Growing industry, with its avid need for ability and energy and leadership, would not have tolerated rules that held them down—it would have promoted the able in spite of rules. If the strong and capable man was thus encouraged in his individualism, the weak was no less so because his encouragement was negative. There was no group of his fellows to appeal to, and so he appealed to his employer for everything from an advance in wages for groceries to aid in any emergency of sickness or death.

Industry has not created social classes in the South as it is sometimes accused of doing; it merely took class distinctions that already existed and perpetuated them. It did not create individualism by insisting on dealing with each worker singly; it accepted the individualism that already existed, found it highly convenient, and made it a fetish.

We have seen that the attitude of the

public was one of approval, that of the manufacturers one of complacency, and of the workers one of acceptance of the whole pattern. Now if the National Industrial Recovery Act had been superimposed on this set of attitudes the process, for the South at least, would probably have been a very simple thing. An industry would have worked out its code, had it reviewed by the Administrator and his Board and pronounced fair to the worker, to other industries, and to the public. A notice would have been posted and on the next Monday morning the new order, in so far as it affects labor, would have been in effect. The only difficulty is that, whereas the attitudes of the public and the manufacturer have continued substantially as I have described them, those of the workers have undergone some rather important changes in the last few years.

For one thing, there have been changes in the mental equipment of southern industrial workers. Schools have been better and have been open for longer terms. Child labor laws, compulsory education laws and a period of good wages, all together helped to secure to the workers now in their twenties and thirties a better education than their fathers and mothers had. They can learn and profit by information that comes to them in ways that were closed to their parents and grandparents: books, newspapers, movies, radio, union circulars. Since 1929 there has been spasmodic and sometimes highly vigorous propaganda from organized labor. It is amazing how quickly southern workers pick up union ideas and language.

For another thing, southern industrial workers learned a new way of living these last fifteen years. Houses in the industrial villages and in other small towns were improved in size, sanitation, and conveniences. The automobile became stand-

ard equipment of the industrial family, giving freedom of movement and mobility of labor undreamed of when our grandfathers complained of mill hands moving about. The worker's family could afford and learned to like a greater variety of foods made available by the better stores and wages. The girls had the silk stockings, the ready-made clothes, the trips to the beauty parlor that made them passable copies of the daughters of the manager and president. In other words, the worker had a taste of the little luxuries that formerly he and his father had never known or had vaguely assumed were for the "big bugs." Such things quickly become a part of one's standard of living and their loss through lowered wages a deprivation worth a struggle to prevent.

Thirdly, southern industrial workers have had a new sort of economic experience in the last few years. They have felt in their daily work some of the effects of profound changes in industry. The trend toward labor saving machinery, begun during the days of labor shortage, continued in dull periods because of competition. This threw many out of jobs. Scientific management, or rather a sort of pseudo-scientific management popularly known in the textile industry as the "stretch-out," threw some out of jobs, demoted some to the position of helpers, and quickened the pace for all. That all this happened in a period of declining wages made it the more intolerable.

Presently the docile, hitherto passive, southern workers began to protest. For the most part they made a blind thrust at conditions they felt keenly if they did not understand clearly. But they learned some valuable lessons from these uprisings of the past four years. They learned the power of group action. We must not let the failures of the spectacular strikes at Gastonia and Marion blind us to the fact

that in 1929 workers in dozens of mills won in their strikes against the stretch-out. Workers who did not strike saw the results of the general agitation in more caution on the part of their own employer or actual abandonment of the stretch-out lest his workers strike. More recently, workers in dozens of plants in this general area have won quick little contests over wage increases. The fact that they had the courage to act at the depth of the depression shows that they are growing in self-confidence.

The workers felt vaguely that they needed guidance, and groups sent to the obvious places for help, namely the state federations of labor, and through these to the specific union organization. The ineptness of most of the assistance has been recognized by members of the labor movement, by the local public and by the workers themselves. The workers know now that the American Federation of Labor is either not interested in the lowly southern textile worker or is unable to help. They know they must depend on themselves. This is a valuable piece of knowledge for a group who for forty years have been the object of spasmodic organizing campaigns which approach in fervor a religious revival and hardly surpass it in permanence of effect. They know now that they must have local leaders who understand local conditions and people, and who will have a personal as well as a professional and theoretical stake in the outcome. To be sure, they do not have many leaders as yet, but these will be developed. As industry in the South matures there are no longer the number of opportunities at the top for the able and energetic young men who used to be so rapidly promoted to lead for management. They will be left in the ranks to find expression in working with and for their fellows. It is significant that in the strikes of the last few years the

leaders have been young men. Southern industry has never furnished much opportunity for advancement of women workers. It is significant also that these better educated, aggressive young women have also found self-expression in these new group activities.

They have learned the power of public opinion. There was at first, we are told, no little sympathy in Gastonia for the strikers who were protesting against a mill policy of cutting wages and "stretching out" workers because that same policy included high salaries paid to executives at the sacrifice of dividends to local stockholders. It was the bogey of communism, free love, and outside agitators that extinguished sympathy. In another town the strikers had public sympathy because the social agencies had to help the mill village families with all emergencies while the style of living of the owner seemed unaffected by any decrease in income. In South Carolina even the legislature recognized the cause of the workers and appointed a committee which investigated conditions and censured the methods of the mill managements. In the summer of 1932 a group of strikers in North Carolina quickly ended their strike when public opinion led by a friendly newspaper, pointed out that their demands were unreasonable and their position untenable.

The workers have learned that the southern public is almost as suspicious of outside leadership as the industrialist himself. And so time after time we find them refusing the intervention of organizers even to the point of physically and somewhat violently removing such an interloper. Especially do they let their position be known when the intruder is of too radical a cast. They have learned that public opinion demands that an employer talk with his own workers. Even so obstinate employers as those at Rocking-

ham finally had to capitulate and do this much at the insistence of the Governor of North Carolina backed up by the press of the state.

Finally, they are learning that all sorts of workers have a common cause. In several strikes in recent years farmers have brought in produce and have declared they would continue to help a group with whom they felt some economic kinship. The organizing campaign of the American Federation of Labor in 1929 and 1930 cut across occupational lines more than usual and helped to educate the workers to a sense of common cause. There were several instances of state and city federations collecting free will offerings from all sorts of workers and sending truck loads of food and clothing to what used to be considered an alien group. In High Point in the summer of 1932 a strike starting in a hosiery mill spread to cotton mills, furniture factories, and other industries of the community. Some insist that this was no evidence of voluntary action—that the mob of unemployed who closed down the industries had no sympathy from the other workers whose plants were stopped. But all admit that the success of the hosiery strike in High Point encouraged furniture workers and cotton mill workers of the next town to strike a few weeks later. The leader of the hosiery strike was invited to go to Thomasville to aid if he could, and also to go to Rockingham, a hundred miles away, to aid cotton mill strikers.

Still more startling examples of protest, of group action, and of cutting across industrial lines occurred last winter when in several towns in North Carolina relief workers organized and vigorously protested, even to the point of striking, against hours or wages or conditions of employment and relief. Here were examples of magnetic leadership from among the ranks. Here were examples of cour-

age—some thought of impudence—bordering on recklessness.

For all these reasons and from all these signs, I conclude that labor in the South is more alert, better informed, more restless, more capable of being led into action, is producing vigorous young leaders who are throwing in their lot with the rank and file. It is becoming more self-conscious and more class-conscious, more aware of the power of group action.

It is in this atmosphere that the National Industrial Recovery Act, the NIRA, must function. The public would probably be willing to trust the leaders of industry on the labor phases of the codes, for the national authorities can be depended upon to insist on a standard which may seem high to the South. The employers of the South will feel that they have gone far when they have adopted so high a standard. Even many of the workers may be grateful for and happy under an established code which insures them a higher wage for a shorter work day and week than they have ever known. But there will be this restlessness, this dawning sense of group power, these recently developed leaders. Most of all there will be intense union activity. Organized labor saw to it that the section on this subject was written into the law and it won over the lobby of the manufacturers who fought to get it out. It is true everybody is a little uncertain just exactly what it is going to mean. The National Manufacturers' Association declared in opposing it that it meant the closed shop. Now that it is in the law they do not go so far. The steel industry is very unhappy about the implications of this part of the act. On the other hand labor leaders fear that it is not drastic enough and that General Johnson and his board will not leave enough to collective bargaining. In this, so far, they seem to be quite justified.

The textile code, the first to be presented, met with fine compliments from General Johnson though it was, as one of its sponsors said to me "our code and labor had nothing to do with the forming of it." The hearings on this code showed a spirit of cooperation on the part of the manufacturers which rightly won more compliments from the Administrator and the press.

Of course the main industries represented in the South—cotton, tobacco, and furniture—are not strongly organized anywhere, and others, steel and coal, not organized in the South. The Administrator may be compelled to take the position that national labor representatives on his boards will have to be depended upon to help him see that codes in unorganized industries are fair to labor. At this writing, the middle of July, he has shown no disposition to assume that the clauses which permit and even encourage organization should be interpreted to mean that they compel it.

But the organizer, whether he be local or imported, is now going to have the strongest talking points he has ever had. He can point out that the government has forced the employers to strengthen their already existing associations and—if we are to judge from the textile code—seems about to give them much power in policing their members and enforcing the law. The workers, he will declare, must organize to meet them. He can point out that the law gives them specifically the right to organize and protects them in the exercise of the privilege. Already organizers in the South are girding up their loins for the campaign. Already the national unions interested in the industries represented in the South are planning to take up afresh their previously checkered campaigns. The changed attitudes of labor I have been describing will give them hear-

ing such as they have never had. Employers' opposition, so effective in the past, is emasculated by the terms of the law.

I think we are in for some interesting developments in the next few months. The southern public has always been surprised when inarticulate labor suddenly speaks up and shows itself to be not so contented as it was thought to be, when it suddenly disrupts the peace of the community with a strike. Southern employers have always been shocked when their workers, whom they thought they understood, suddenly revealed themselves as cherishing strange ambitions. The awakening worker, spurred on by the activity of the organizer, is going to find a hundred points in the practical operation of every code which will need discussion and adjustment. Some of their leaders, eager to seize the opportunity to win something for the worker and feeling the protection of the government guarantee, may easily become over-zealous. The employers, bedeviled by controls from above, may become impatient of the threat of controls from below. We need not be surprised if zeal sometime becomes unreasonable or if it rouses impatience in the employer.

All of us as citizens can help by trying to see both sides, by being reasonable and patient, by doing our part to see that the public opinion surrounding these difficulties is reasonable and patient. Every citizen can help in his community in this way. I believe social workers can do more. They know both sides pretty well. They have been the instruments through which assistance has been given to the workers. The workers will give the social worker a hearing that they will not give to many in the community. The social worker has had to go to the employ-

ers for cooperation in many a problem relating to their unemployed workers. Employers know the social worker has a disinterested care for those workers which they do not consider the organizer has. I believe that in the days ahead which are bound to have many difficulties, those who know both sides, those whom both sides know and trust, can be of important service. The article I quoted at the beginning of this paper contains this paragraph:

In a nearby city the employees of another clothing company were recently on strike for higher wages. The strikers did not turn to the social workers for aid and comfort. When asked why not, the naïve answer given without a trace of rancor was: "We did not think social workers would be interested in us." May social workers be forgiven; they were not interested.

I don't know whether we shall have strikes in the working out of these industrial codes. I am sure we are going to have many disagreements, little ones in individual plants even if not big ones in which the Administrator will take a hand. May it never be said that the local social workers are not interested. They are more interested than anybody else in seeing to it that this tremendous experiment in solving our economic difficulties should be successful and that we shall get permanent good from it. I don't know whether this whole scheme is going to give an impetus to unionization in this area. I can see many reasons why it will and some for believing that it may not. But whether it does or not it is bound to set up practices in industrial relations new and strange to workers, employers, and public. Let us every one do all we can to see that these new practices will be such that will make for industrial peace, and through that, community peace.

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## POPULATION PROBLEMS

FRANK H. HANKINS

*Smith College*

FERTILITY AND REPRODUCTION. *Methods of Measuring the Balance of Births and Deaths.* By Robert R. Kuczynski. New York: The Falcon Press, 1932. 94 pp. \$1.85.

CONTROL OF CONCEPTION. *An Illustrated Medical Manual.* By R. L. Dickinson and Louise S. Bryant. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1932. 290 pp. Illustrated. \$4.50.

tility rates from this reconstituted population. This reconstituted population they called a "stable" population and the essence of their contribution was the method of computation whereby it could be determined.

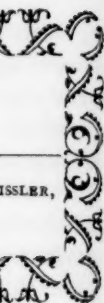
In the present work, Kuczynski first sets forth his method of arriving at the net reproduction rate through the use of the stationary population derived from the mortality table. He then proceeds to an exposition of the Dublin-Lotka conception of a "stable" population and simplified methods for computing its yearly rate of increase, its mean length of generation, its age distribution, and its birth and death rates. In the "Appendix" (pp. 41-92), the work of Bortkiewicz and Lotka is reviewed with comment and a numerical example of the computation of the age composition of a stable population is given.

The reviewer does not pretend to sufficient mathematical proficiency to pass judgment on certain parts of this work. In the main the logic and method are made clear, however, to the reader with some degree of statistical understanding. The exposition seems to lack clarity in places, partly due to an ambiguous use of words and partly to the elliptical mode of reasoning to which the mathematical mind seems prone. It seems certain that henceforth the calculation of "stable" populations will constitute an important feature of demographic study.

During the past decade there has been published a not inconsiderable number of books on the practical aspects of birth control. If, however, one begins the perusal of this new work by the head of the National Committee on Maternal

The past twenty years has witnessed an almost world-wide revival of interest in population studies. This seems to be due in part to the revival of Malthusian premonitions during and after the war. It was in 1923 that East saw mankind standing at a crossroads, whence one road led by way of birth control to the preservation of civilized standards of life and the other led to certain pressure on food and natural resources. It was in 1927 that Professor Ross raised the question whether the world was to become so full of people that there would be standing room only. Meanwhile, in 1925 certain ingenious statisticians had shown that the western world at least was not threatened with a flood of numbers but faced with a prospective decline.

In September 1925, in a now famous article, "On the True Rate of Natural Increase," Dublin and Lotka showed that, whereas the apparent difference between births and deaths in this country in 1920 was eleven, the true difference was only half as much. The age composition of the population was favorable to both fertility and mortality, due to immigration and the higher birth rates of the past. The true rate of increase could only be determined by calculating the age distribution that would result from a continuance of the observed 1920 mortality and fertility rates and then recalculating mortality and fer-



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Health and his assistant with the idea that it is "just another one," he is in for a pleasant surprise. In the first place this work is much more than a practical manual; about one-fourth of the work is devoted to means and methods of contraception. In these pages, in addition to a very careful consideration of such methods, one finds a great deal of historical and scientific material of more than passing interest. Moreover, these pages are illustrated by dozens of Dr. Dickinson's incomparable drawings and photographic reproductions. In addition to sections on "Scientific Background," "Sterilization Without Un-

sexing (Vasectomy, Salpingectomy and Caution, illustrated), "Early Elective Therapeutic Abortion" (illustrated), and "Medical Indications," there are treatments of "Clinical Organization and Service" and "Legal Status of Contraception and Sterilization." All told it is a work which easily excels any other in its field from the standpoints of completeness, scientific accuracy, and authoritativeness. I found only one curious error: Herbert Spencer, who died in 1903 is listed among those participating in the proceedings of the British National Birthrate Commission in 1913.

### THE AMERICAN FAMILY TODAY

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

- FAMILY ADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE.** By Manuel Conrad Elmer. New York: Long and Smith, 1932. 400 pp. \$3.00.
- THE FAMILY.** By Ernest R. Mowrer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. 364 pp. \$3.00.
- THE MODERN AMERICAN FAMILY.** Edited by Donald Young. Philadelphia: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 160 (March, 1932). 256 pp. \$2.50.
- THE FAMILY.** By Katharine DuPre Lumpkin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. 184 pp. \$2.00.
- CHICAGO FAMILIES.** By Day Monroe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. 344 pp. \$3.00.
- ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY.** By Hazel Kyrk. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933. 500 pp. \$3.50.
- A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.** By Flora M. Thurston. New York: The National Council of Parent Education, 1932. 273 pp. \$2.00.
- THE MINISTER AND FAMILY TROUBLES.** Elisabeth Anthony and Robert Cloutman Dexter. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931. 97 pp. \$1.25.

This excellent text, *Family Adjustment and Social Change*, by Manuel C. Elmer, designed for college instruction, reveals how rapidly sociological courses on the

family have matured during the last decade in American colleges. It stresses throughout the sociological viewpoint, interpreting the family as a societal force. This slant of the book does not mean, however, that the author restricts his treatment narrowly but rather that he keeps prominent always his special emphasis. The legal, economic, biological, and psychological aspects of the family are drawn upon for material, but they are subordinated to the major interest of the book.

Dr. Elmer refuses to become an attorney for the family or to assume the rôle of critic. Although optimistic as to the future of the family as a social institution, he is content to attempt the description of its present functioning as an agency of social control and to analyze the influences at present operating upon it.

Students of the American family have come to expect any book from Dr. Mowrer to prove an important addition to the growing literature of their specialty. Again, in his text *The Family*, he has ful-

filled their expectations. This book, also designed as a college text, covers a broader field than the author's previous book, and its content is in sharpest contrast with Elmer. *The Family* draws heavily from social psychology and is therefore more analytic in interpreting the family as a special form of human behavior. The text is dedicated to Professor Ernest Burgess.

It is difficult to single out any particular chapter, but many readers will be especially impressed with the conciseness and penetration of the first on "The Family Crisis" and with the last two dealing with "Research and the Family" and "Problems for Research," because they contain material not to be found elsewhere. The chapter on "Research and the Family" may not draw the interest of the college student so much as some of the others, but the instructor will rank it as one of the most valuable of the book.

*The Modern American Family*, edited by Donald Young, is a series of brief but informative discussions of contemporary American family life, grouped in three sections: the Heritage of the Modern Family; The American Family in Transition; and Efforts at Family Stabilization. It offers the reader a penetrating summary of the background of the American family, the problems it now faces in its attempt to adjust to recent social changes, and the more important of the efforts that are being made to help it make a safe passage through the reorganization forced upon it by the upheaval in culture.

Lumpkin's *The Family* is a description of family experience based chiefly upon an intensive case study of forty-six families who in New York City have been for a considerable period clients of a family society. It deals with the family as an arena of interaction, discussing the rôles of family members, family patterns, discordant relationships, and failures and success in rôle

adjustment. The author regards family maladjustment largely as repercussions to an unfavorable social environment. Education for family life will prove an advantage, but what is most needed is a revamping of the social situation itself. "Sooner or later what must be achieved is an economic environment favorable to the home, and a set of mores more consistent with the aims of education for family life."

*Chicago Families* is a highly specialized statistical investigation of Chicago families, based upon data selected from the schedules of the 1920 census and directed by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago and the American Home Economics Association. Returns from 23,373 families representing no one district or occupational or nativity group, Negroes being excluded, furnish the material for the study. The Negroes were left out because, having problems so different from those of the whites, it seemed wisest to deal with them separately. The data were analyzed and are presented according to the following classification: General Characteristics of Chicago Families; Households of Chicago Families; Domicile Status of Chicago Families; Size and Composition of Chicago Families; The Burden of Care and Support of Dependent Children; Gainful Employment of Members of Chicago Families; Earning Home-Makers of Chicago.

Kyrk's book might well have been entitled "The Economic Functioning of the American Family," for it is the most complete study of the economic side of family experience yet published. It is an analysis of contemporary activities and problems rather than a book of counsel, and supplements Andrews' valuable *Economics of the Household*, which deals with the financial administration of the private family household. *Economic Problems of the Family* fills a long-existing void in the

literature of the family, and the book is certain to have a hearty welcome from students of the family.

*A Bibliography on Family Relationships* is an indispensable tool to any student who has a serious interest in the family, marriage and parenthood problems, and parent education. The material has been selected with discrimination and is aptly annotated. This bibliography has been much needed and undoubtedly it will be widely used. The editor has generously acknowledged the introductory compilation of Thelma Beatty, whose interest in the project, commitment to the task, and desire to advance parent education no one knows better than the reviewer, since it was at the University of North Carolina that she did her preliminary work.

Miss Thurston has not only given us a most useful source book but also one that shows a careful appraising of the great

quantity of material published in the field of family relationships.

*The Minister and Family Troubles*, by Dexter and Dexter. This is a small book but not one to be passed lightly by on account of the brevity. It is written for ministers in the attempt to show them that diagnosis is a more excellent way of dealing with family problems than moralizing, and no group of persons who carry social responsibilities so needs this insight. The message of the book is clear and convincing and will be well received except by those too prejudiced to turn to the better way of handling domestic maladjustment. Although written for the minister, it will prove a profitable book for anyone interested in practical problems of the family. It is dedicated to the memory of Anna Garlin Spencer, one of the first to realize the possibilities of social analysis as a method of understanding and treating difficulties of the family.

## PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

W. C. JACKSON

*University of North Carolina*

TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By Leonard D. White. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933. 365 pp. \$4.00.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. PART I—GENERAL LITERATURE. By Sarah Greer. New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1933. 90 pp. \$1.50.

UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR THE NATIONAL SERVICE. Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of Minnesota, July 14 to 17, 1931. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932. 325 pp.

CITY MANAGER YEARBOOK 1933. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1933. 356 pp.

ORGANIZATION IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By the Public Administration Clearing House. Chicago: Hawkins & Loomis Company, 1932. 203 pp.

Charles A. Beard said some years ago: "In our day a new social science is being staked out and developed—the science of administration in a 'great society.' If the great society is to endure, then it must make itself master of administration. . . . The work of administration runs to the roots of modern society, touching every phase of social and economic life." The significance and meaning of this statement were never more apparent and important than at the present time. The national government is offering vivid, extensive, and interesting evidence of its significance. Congress in the recent session passed a number of the most important measures

ever enacted in the history of the government and each of them depends for its success upon proper administration. Never in the history of the country has it been so evident that our national government has entered the administrative phase.

Similar conditions begin to prevail in state governments. A considerable number of state legislatures have recently effected extensive reorganization in their governmental set-up which calls for much additional administration. Recent legislation by the states also called into being new administrative functions and duties. The enactment of the sales tax in a number of states is a good illustration of this kind of legislation. Probably no form of legislation is more definitely dependent upon administration for successful operation than is the sales tax.

A similar interest prevails in non-public administration. There are everywhere evidences that the place of administration in education, philanthropy, business and private enterprises of all kinds is being recognized as of fundamental importance. The present Senate investigation of private banking in the United States is giving dramatic emphasis to the importance and significance of private administration. It may be safely stated that in both of these fields—public and non-public—administration is commanding a degree of attention from students of government and from the public that it has never received before.

The literature dealing with administration has increased enormously in recent months. By far the most important of the recent books appearing on the subject is *Trends in Public Administration* by Leonard D. White. This book is one of the series of monographs prepared under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, and one of the first of that series to come from the press. Pro-

fessor White is an authority on public administration in the country and what he says always commands respect and attention.

This is an excellent book. It is simple but engaging in style, it contains a mass of valuable information, and it is intelligent in emphasis and interpretation. The book is divided into four parts. Part I is entitled, "Trends in the Balance of Power," and brings out the fact that there has been an enormous increase of power of the central government in relation to the states and in the states with reference to their political subdivisions. On this point he says: "Analysis of the probable causes of the trend toward centralization suggests that the conditions of American life in the near decade will be such as to make further demands on leadership and supervision, although perhaps not controlled from Washington." Quoting further, he says that the Jeffersonian idea of government as a necessary evil "is giving way to the theory that government is a dynamic social force having a positive influence on the lives of citizens. . . . Broadly speaking, the drive toward centralization is animated by the desire for better service or more effective regulation, and is made possible by the great technical improvements in the art of communication and transportation."

Part II deals with the "New Management." It discusses the problem of reorganization in government whereby there is vested in the hands of the chief executive the power and duties which are usually exercised by a general manager, the creation of budget bureaus, accounting offices, purchasing departments, etc., and the possibility of more effective management through the control and supervision of these various departments.

Part III deals with "Trends in Public Employment," in which the various prob-

lems of personnel management are discussed and the growth of professional and technical services are described. This is followed by a chapter on "Unions in Public Employment." Part IV, "Trends in the Technique of Improvement in Public Administration," is a brief but important discussion of the rise, development, and importance of research in this field.

The book is an important contribution to the increasing evolution of the developing science of public administration. It is well written, it abounds in valuable information much of which is found in carefully prepared tables, and it gives distinct encouragement to all those who are interested in the development of the administrative phase of government in this country.

An exceedingly valuable contribution to the literature on public administration is *A Bibliography on Public Administration* by Sarah Greer of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City. Miss Greer's first volume on this subject appeared in 1926 and met with wide-spread and favorable response. The edition was exhausted long ago. There has been a large increase in the literature on the subject in the past few years and the need has been urgent for a new and up-to-date bibliography. "Miss Greer has now undertaken to compile a much more comprehensive bibliography, the entries being carefully selected and classified with the inclusion of important foreign titles omitted from her earlier work. This new volume will appear, when complete, under the title of the earlier one. It is planned to have it ready for publication within a year. In the meantime, we are offering the first part, which deals with the General Literature of Public Administration."

The general divisions of Bibliographical and Reference Sources, Government Documents, Constitutions, Theory and Practice of Government, . . . Science and Art of

Administration, . . . National Government, State Government, Local Government, etc., indicate the general scope of the work. The titles are especially well chosen. This little volume is indispensable to the student of public administration.

*University Training for the National Service* is the report of the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Minnesota in July, 1931. Special emphasis is given in the volume to the various opportunities now available for college graduates in the national government, and the kind of training that is provided for them in American universities. The conference was participated in by eighty-three persons representing the following: United States Civil Service Commission, U. S. Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Justice, State, and the Tariff Commission, and a score of universities and colleges mainly in the Middle West but including representatives from institutions all the way from New Jersey to California.

The work is subdivided or grouped into eight divisions, the first dealing with general problems, others dealing with the more particular topics of law, agriculture, public welfare, etc.; the last section, in addition to some discussions, contains some resolutions which were adopted by the conference.

A number of the leading authorities on various fields of public administration participated in this conference, among whom may be mentioned with propriety William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, Dewitt Clinton Poole of Princeton University, Isadore Loeb of Washington University, John M. Gaus of the University of Wisconsin, Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago, Samuel C. May of the University of California, S. Gale Lowrie of the University of Cincinnati, and Louis Brownlow, Director of the

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Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago. From the governmental departments mention may be made of Thomas E. Campbell, President of the United States Civil Service Commission; L. J. O'Rourke, Director of the Council of Personnel Administration; E. Dana Durand, Chief Economist of the U. S. Tariff Commission; W. W. Stockberger of the Department of Agriculture.

Two facts stand out in bold relief from these discussions. One is the necessity for making available more definite information about governmental positions which require college or university training; second, the necessity for close coöperation between educational institutions and governmental agencies. Undoubtedly the work of this conference will aid in the proper consideration and solution of these two problems.

*The City Manager Yearbook for 1933* is a useful contribution to the literature of administration and is indispensable to the city administrator. The volume is divided into four parts as follows: (1) "Municipal Administration in 1932," which contains a series of articles on every phase of city management by more than a dozen of the best known authorities on public administration in the country. (2) "Conference

Proceedings," which includes the greater portion of the book and is made up of a large number of short, effective, and interesting articles and reports dealing with such questions as retrenchment in government and business, management technique, maintaining sustained citizen interest in government, problems of city management, etc., etc. (3) "Association Business" is the report of the annual meeting of the International City Managers' Association; and (4) "A Directory of City Managers." The book is entertaining and valuable. It covers every phase of municipal administration in short, convincing, and intelligent articles by the best authorities on municipal administration in the United States.

*Organizations in the Field of Public Administration* is a directory of organizations in public administration in the United States, 1744 in number, including national, state, regional, and Canadian organizations. There is included all set-ups "working in the general field of public administration or in the fields that impinge upon and effect public administration." It is a valuable handbook because it contains in convenient form information about the membership, secretarial staffs, activities, finances, and publications of these numerous organizations.

## EYES OVER GERMANY

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

*Amherst College*

THE CRISIS IN GERMAN DEMOCRACY. By Herbert Kraus. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932. 223 pp. \$2.50.

GERMANY PUTS THE CLOCK BACK. By Edgar Ansell Mowrer. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1933. 325 pp. \$2.50.

DAS DRITTE REICH. By Moeller von den Bruck. 3rd ed. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1933. 248 pp.

GERMAN CITIES. By Roger H. Wells. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932. 283 pp. \$3.00.

No event since the war has so startled world opinion, or focussed attention on any country, as the advent to power in Germany of Hitler and the National Socialists. Although Fascism has become current coin of discussion, its incidence, for most people, has until recently been a matter of little concern. Either it was a phenomenon of the less advanced and

matured political systems, or the very term itself was stretched to cover such innocuous developments as, for instance, the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Suddenly, and dramatically, the scene has shifted to one of the most developed political systems of Europe, operating under an advanced democratic constitution, and representing those economic and social institutions typical of the western world. What is the significance of this event, what its causes and results? To this question the books under review offer varying answers.

Professor Kraus, himself one of the foremost constitutional authorities of the Reich, suggests the answer that the underlying cause of the triumph of the National Socialists is the failure of those very democratic institutions which the Weimar constitution planted in the political field of postwar Germany to take root in the spirit and habits of the people. Although his lectures were delivered and published before the March elections, he foresaw clearly enough the trend of events and set out to explain it. "The Constitution of Weimar . . . was (1919) the correct solution of Germany's constitutional problem, for it meant a choice between Communism and Democracy, and saved Germany from Bolshevism. . . . But what a change has taken place in the few years since. . . . This does not apply primarily to the Welfare State; . . . the Hitler movement has carefully avoided marshalling its forces on this front. . . . On the other hand, an unbelievable change along the whole line is apparent so far as liberal parliamentary democracy . . . comes into question. . . . Numerically the greatest part of the German people, and above all the strongest and most energetic factors among them, are today anti-liberal, anti-democratic, and anti-parliamentarian." This nega-

tive aim of destroying parliamentary government has been accomplished since the book was published; the reasons for the growth of the aim in the minds of the most energetic of the people are perhaps tragically, but none the less cogently, outlined by Professor Kraus in his detailed commentary on the Weimar Constitution.

At almost every joint in the system, he points out weaknesses that have developed in its practical operation. Whether it is the proliferation of parties no combination of which could long maintain a parliamentary majority, the relations of the Reich to the Länder, the constitutional position of the President, or the implementation of the Bill of Rights, he illuminates with a sure—if sympathetic—insight many of the difficulties under which any democratic government labors when it attempts to function in a disturbed and, indeed, cataclysmic situation. Far more perhaps than to any other cause, the author of this commentary of the working of the constitution lays its ineffectiveness to the "German people's increasing despair. I am convinced of nothing more than of the truth of the fact that the curve of this movement will correspond to the curve of German extremity." And this extremity he attributes principally to outside influences rather than to domestic problems. His answer to the question of the future is that of many other observers, both German and foreign, that "many members of the Hitler party will go over to the Communists if the Hitler party does not fulfil the hopes placed in it, and is not in a position materially to improve the situation of the German people."

Here is not only an accurate and incisive appraisal of the formal aspects of constitutional law in the Weimar period of the German Reich, but a study rich in thoughtful evaluation of those imponderable elements in the life and feeling of a

people. No other volume in so brief a compass will combine these two elements so satisfactorily for the student or general reader.

Mr. Mowrer, who is Berlin correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, has written a popular but lively and informed account of the events foreshadowing the advent to power of Hitler and his associates. It is at once an index of most of the people who in the realms of politics, industry, finance, and ideas, have wrought the pattern of thought of the German people for a dozen years, and a realistic—if somewhat journalistic—peep behind the scenes of how revolutions are made. It is reminiscent of Leon Feuchtwanger's *Success*, that almost autobiographical account of the rise of Hitlerism in Bavaria a bare decade ago. Mr. Mowrer has met and measured most of the significant people of the period, and has succeeded admirably in putting together the picture puzzle of acts and motives that mark it. If some of his estimates are revised by future historians, this will none the less be one of the contemporary "records" that will have to be studied.

*Das dritte Reich* is the evangelistic gospel of Hitlerism. Originally published in 1922, it phrased the mystical clarion call to German youth particularly to recreate the Fatherland. The author's thesis is that Germany, although a State, has not yet become a Nation. The English and French Revolutions created national consciousness in the peoples of those lands, stamped them indelibly with national unity. Such a national unity has not been achieved by the Germans, to the great events that would crystallize it he calls his readers in phrases of staccatic power and mystical fervor. The catalytic agent is to be a revived and consecrated conservatism with the leaders of crusade as the legitimate, the "called" leaders of a cohesive and untrammelled nation.

The details of the picture are left conveniently vague. After rejecting in order socialism, liberalism, democracy, proletarianism, and reactionarism, he begins his chapter on conservatism with the phrase, "conservatism has eternity with it." The party that will bring about this fusion of the German people has "the continuity of German history" with it. . . . "We think on the Germany of all ages, on the Germany with a past of two thousand years, and on the Germany of an eternal present, that lives in the spirit, but is based on action, and which can only be assured by its political organization."

The significance of this work by one of the earliest and most fluent of the National Socialists is its profound effect in awakening the intellectual youth of the country to the slogans of a revived and militant nationalism. During the past decade, it has been the principal dogmatic credo of the party; if now that words have to be translated into deeds, its historic significance in the evolutionary progress of party ideas cannot be overlooked. For this is tinder of the most highly inflammable sort, and its effects upon the minds and wills of millions of Germans are no small factor in the "eternal present" of their country. The future will alone tell whether the prophecies of den Bruck or Kraus will prove the more accurate; the one is the rash, but often, penetrating, vision of the zealot, the other, the calmer judgment of the student.

Professor Wells' study of contemporary municipal politics and administration is a much needed—and a thoroughly competent—study of the effects of the war and postwar periods upon German local government. Many observers united in placing German cities of a quarter century ago at the top of the scale in efficiency and progressive administration. It is hardly to be expected that local institutions should escape unscathed in a country in

which such dynamic changes in the national sphere were taking place. But the results of first hand investigation and of wide reading in the official documents have convinced the author that German cities still remain on a very high level both of politics and of administration. Not perhaps without the penetration of those sinister influences which still affect our municipal institutions, but, on the whole, with cleaner politics, more competent administration, more progressive social

policies. And it is significant to note in passing that the new government has not dared to leave the cities in the hands of the old administrators; where disinterestedness has marked, and still does, the political institutions most nearly affecting the life of the people, power cannot be left to those who do not obey pressure groups. Professor Wells's study is a timely and invaluable addition to our knowledge of German political life.

### AGAIN THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR

RUPERT B. VANCE

*University of North Carolina*

MAN'S ADAPTATION OF NATURE: STUDIES OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE. By P. W. Bryan. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933. 386 pp. Maps and illustrations. \$3.50.

THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR: ITS RÔLE IN LIFE AND CIVILIZATION. By Ray H. Whitbeck and Olive J. Thomas. New York: Century Company, 1932. 415 pp. Maps and illustrations. \$2.25.

ATLAS OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Charles O. Paullin. Edited by John K. Wright. Carnegie Institution of Washington and American Geographical Society of New York, 1932. 400 pp. 620 maps. \$15.00.

In the scientific transition from the monistic causation of Montesquieu to Pareto's moving equilibrium of functional variables, consideration of the geographic factor in the social complex has travelled a long way. The trail leads from Ratzel to la Blache. From claiming too much, geographers have become, as it were, too modest, leaving their erstwhile cloak of arrogance to be assumed by the culture determinists. Moreover, geography has broken up into the many specialties of physiography, paleontology, soil science, meteorology, climatology, plant and animal ecology, and human geography, all

now given hasty glances in departments of geology by men trained in the science of hard rocks. Geography itself hardly remains a unit factor, being held together in its multifarious aspects mainly by the underlying concept of spatial distribution. Nevertheless, a terrestrial unity results from geographic interaction. Its first level, the resultant of geological and climatic processes, is visible to the physical scientist; its second level of plant and animal ecology is laid open to inspection by the student of the organic; its third level, man's adjustment to, and adaptation of nature, remains to baffle the social scientist. Here in over-simplification are to be found three moving equilibria of functional variables, all in continuing interaction. It is with the geographic factor on its third level that our three volumes deal.

#### I

P. W. Bryan in *Man's Adaptation of Nature* poses two approaches to human geography. One may begin with the natural region, make an inventory of the

environment and then work up to man's civilization as registered on the region's surface. In such a procedure one is likely to study many geographic facts not pertinent to the region's culture. Accordingly, the author prefers to begin with the description and analysis of man's characteristic use of the area, its products and its surfaces, and thence to look back from the human facts to the pertinent facts in the natural region. Written by an Englishman this volume, so far as the reviewer knows, is the first work in English entirely devoted to the concept of the cultural landscape, as originated by the German School of Geography and best represented in this country by Carl O. Sauer.

The volume is accordingly an intelligent and well-written presentation of a philosophical conception of human geography, advancing the cultural landscape as the core of the subject. Some nine chapters, devoted to theoretic considerations, treat of the history of geographic thought, the analysis and types of cultural landscapes, method of their study, the elements of the environmental complex with special attention to the cultural landscape of shelter and recreation. The cultural landscape presents a four-fold aspect: (1) structural forms as fields, mines, and houses; (2) movable forms as animals and vehicles; (3) activities as planting, harvesting, manufacturing, transporting, etc.; and (4) the results of activities as in crops, fabricated goods, highways, etc. Thus Bryan seems to reverse the formula "from the natural to the cultural landscapes," although he admits "it may not be possible in all cases to begin with a complete statement of the cultural landscape." He makes use of such terms as cultural area and culture complex although he makes no mention of the work of American anthropology in developing these concepts.

In support of the dominant thesis, sepa-

rate chapters present the cultural landscapes of the Corn Belt, of Chicago, of the Great Lakes—St. Lawrence Waterway, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, of fruit growing and village communities, all excellent in observation and analysis. It is too much to hope that the theory behind the work will be accepted as the way out of the difficulties in which human geography today finds itself. Nevertheless the volume is a stimulating presentation of a point of view which has hitherto received too little attention from American geographers and sociologists.

## II

In Whitbeck and Thomas' *The Geographic Factor* the reader is likely to find himself on more familiar ground. Here is the story of geographic influence. Climate, location, resources, rivers, valleys, barriers, islands, etc., are traced in their effect on religious beliefs, national character, life and civilization. The book is not so extreme as its ambitious table of contents would lead one to believe. In the preface the authors endorse the view that physical environment is permissive rather than mandatory and quote with approval Febvre's statement that "geography makes no claim to be a science of necessities."

The book was written to present the geographical approach in an orientation course in the social sciences. It serves its purpose admirably and should be of interest to the general reader as well as economists, sociologists, etc. Well-organized, free of needless technical terms, the book proceeds in orderly fashion from point to point depending more upon its presentation of factual material than upon any formulation of theory. The book is strongest where it remains close to economic considerations; it appears weakest where it treats of geography's influence on

non-material culture as in religion, national character, etc. The last chapter on South America is to be explained by the senior author's special interests. The volume profits in that it is free of the tendency to overemphasize geology; it suffers in that it fails to give sufficient weight to the ecological viewpoint and pays too little attention to developing the regional approach. The bibliographies are good, the range of authors consulted is wide and varied; the book is honest and painstaking. It deserves a wide reading and a good run.

### III

*The Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* presents geography as the handmaiden to history. Nevertheless it presents geography at its best—with a minimum of theory and a maximum of maps. Backed by two great foundations, employing the collaboration of notable historians and geographers, Jameson, Turner, Farrand, Jernegan, Robertson, Whitbeck, DeC. Ward, Baker, Bowman and many others, the *Atlas* embodies the results of twenty years of original research. It is rightly described as the most comprehensive work of its kind yet published by any country. Over one hundred and fifty gigantic pages of explanatory text accompany more than six hundred and twenty maps. The *Atlas* sets itself a task no less ambitious than the interpretation "of the political, social, economic, religious, educational, and military history of the United States in so far as they can be

shown on maps." The wealth of cartographic material can best be shown by the following list of maps in the main division of the *Atlas*: Natural Environment, 33; Cartography, 47; Indian Tribes and Wars, 10; Exploration, 3; Land Claims, etc., 58; Population, Settlement, and Towns, 54; Colleges and Churches, 36; Boundary Disputes, 45; Political Parties and Public Opinion, 72; Social and Political Reforms, 38; Economics, Industry, Agriculture, Transportation, Foreign Commerce, Distribution of Wealth, 176; City Plans, 7; Military History and Possessions, 50.

Only experts in the various fields can appreciate the amount of research which has gone into, say, the delimitation of boundaries, the plotting of votes on congressional measures, of the statistical indices of wealth and production, taxes, imports, etc., or the dot mapping of colonial churches. Of peculiar interest to the social historian will be the graphic presentation of the march across the map of such reforms as abolition, suffrage, prohibition, public schools, and labor legislation. Of more than antiquarian interest is the rise of geographic knowledge about the new world, depicted by reproductions of 47 early maps. Not only does this volume afford basic ecological data for every social student concerned with the unfolding history of our country; it is also full of suggestions for further research. This reviewer joins the editor in the belief that the *Atlas* will prove a "dynamic force in historical and geographic studies in this country for many years to come."

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PEOPLES, CULTURES, AND SYSTEMS (*Concluded*)

L. L. AND J. S. BERNARD

*Washington University*

- SINISM. By H. G. Creel. Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1929. ix + 127 p. \$2.00.
- GOD IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY TO THE TIME OF SOCRATES. By Roy Kenneth Hack. Princeton: University Press, 1931. ix + 160 p. \$3.00.
- LE JUDAISME. By Julien Weill. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1931. 241 p. 15 fr.
- JUDAISM. By George Foot Moore. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 3 vols., xii + 552 + viii + 486 + xi + 206 p. \$10.00.
- LE CATHOLICISME. By Georges Goyau. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1931. 301 p. 15 fr.
- DU PROTESTANTISME. By Wilfred Monod. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1928. 272 p. 12 fr.
- SURVIVALS OF ROMAN RELIGION. By Gordon J. Laing. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931. xiii + 257 p. \$2.00.
- ANCIENT BELIEFS IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL. By Clifford H. Moore. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931. xi + 188 p. \$1.75.
- GALILBO. By Émile Namur. New York: Robt. M. McBride and Co., 1931. xiii + 298 p. \$3.75.
- JACOB FUGGER THE RICH. By Jacob Strieder. New York: Adelphi Co., 1931. xxvii + 227 p.
- EDWIN CHADWICK AND THE EARLY PUBLIC HEALTH MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND. By Dorsey D. Jones. Iowa City: The University of Iowa, 1931. 160 p. \$1.50.
- BURTON, ARABIAN NIGHTS ADVENTURE. By Fairfax Downey. New York: Scribners, 1931. xv + 300 p. \$3.00.
- JOSEPH SMITH AND HIS MORMON EMPIRE. By Harry M. Beardsley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. xiii + 421 p. \$4.00.
- THE KINGDOM OF ST. JAMES. By Milo M. Quaife. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. xi + 284 p. \$4.00.
- THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLN STEFFENS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931. xi + 884 p. \$3.75.
- BY THE WATERS OF BABYLON: A STORY OF ANCIENT ISRAEL. By Louis Wallis. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. v + 222 p. \$2.00.
- ETHICAL TEACHINGS IN THE LATIN HYMNS OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND. By Ruth Ellis Messenger. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 210 p. \$3.50.
- THE NAPOLEONIC WARS AND GERMAN NATIONALISM. By Walter C. Langsam. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 241 p. \$3.75.
- THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Christian Phelps. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 230 p. \$3.50.
- THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM SINCE 1854. By Donald O. Wagner. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 341 p. \$5.25.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY. By Alan F. Hattersley. Cambridge: University Press, 1930. ix + 274 p. \$2.50.
- LE JOURNALISME. By Léon Levtaut. Paris: Librairie Mellottée. 205 p. 12 fr.
- LE QUATRIÈME POUVOIR. By Antony Vienne. Bruxelles: L'Englantine, 1930. 167 p.
- GRANDEZA Y SERVIDUMBRE DE LA PRENSA. By Alfonso Ungria. Madrid: Editorial Espana, 1930. 292 p. 5 ptas.
- UNIVERSITIES: AMERICAN, ENGLISH, GERMAN. By Abraham Flexner. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. ix + 381 p.
- CATHOLIC CULTURE IN ALABAMA. By Michael Kenny, S. J. New York: America Press, 1931. xiii + 400 p.
- RICHTLINIEN FÜR DIE LEHRPLÄNE DER WOHLFAHRTSSCHULEN. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1930. iv + 106 p.
- GESELLSCHAFTSLEHRE. By Othmar Spann. Leipzig: Verlag Quelle und Meyer, 1930. xxix + 592 p. M. 20.
- PRINCIPES D'ECONOMIE SOCIALE. By Valère Fallon, S. J. Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1929. xvi + 487 p.
- LA CAMPAÑA DE LOS ANDES. By Leopoldo R. Ornstein. Buenos Aires: Instituto Geográfico Militar, 1931. 363 p. + maps.
- SOCIOLOGIE DE LA GUERRE ET DE LA PAIX. Ed. by G. L. Duprat. Paris: Marcel Giard, 1932. 318 p. 50 fr.
- INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. By John Eugene Harley. Stanford University Press, 1931. xx + 604 p. \$7.50.

## VIII

Let us turn now to an important group of writings setting forth national philosophies of life, or philosophico-theological systems of social control. Creel's *Sinism* is one of the most clarifying books on the Chinese philosophic viewpoint ever

written. Sinism is really the concept of a natural order and of natural law, which played so large a part in the thinking of the Greeks of the fourth and fifth centuries and in the Thomist philosophy of the Catholic church. In China it is older than Lao-tse and Confucius, although these philosophers embodied it in their systems. In essence it is an appeal to a general ethical principle of justice or balance over against individual or social perversion or wrong. It is thus a forerunner of sociology. It is the evolution of this viewpoint, from belief in concrete local divinities to general abstract concepts of divinity, preparatory to the emergence of the philosophy of natural law, which constitutes the theme of *God in Greek Philosophy in the Time of Socrates*. Socrates and the sophists matured the idea of a natural order. The author begins with Homer and Hesiod, but brings the story of the growth toward naturalism through the great philosophers of Miletus down to the philosophers of Athens in the Periclean age. The treatment is clear and excellently documented.

The Israelitish and Judaic systems never attained so clearly as the Greek to the metaphysical as distinguished from the theological method of explanation—at least not before the time of Maimonides and Spinoza. Weill, in *Judaism*, explains this system as it appears historically to a reformed Jew, and Professor Moore, in a much larger book with the same title, but limited to the first centuries of the Christian Era, analyzes the system from the standpoint of a great scholar. Weill tells us how the religion came to be integrated, how it fell into Pharisaism and remained there through the vicissitudes of the dispersion, until Moses Mendelssohn and other progressive Jews came to understand the western culture that surrounded them and partly liberated their people from the

ritualism and magic of the past. I know no brief treatment of the whole history of Judaism better calculated to make the outsider understand the inside of the system. Moore treats Judaism more as an objective institution than as a system of ideas, although he by no means neglects the theory of the religion. In his book the sources, the writings, the synagogue, the schools, the rabbinate, the law, the ritual and ceremonials, and the administration of justice become clear and meaningful. It is a great work by a great scholar.

Goyau's *Catholicism* and Monod's *Protestantism*, like Weill's *Judaism* belong to Felix Alcan's most excellent series of brief manuals on the religions. Unfortunately the *Catholicism* is written almost wholly from the standpoint of the doctrine and the ritual of the Church and not so as to give one an intelligent view of the great human and ethical meaning of the church as a social institution. However valuable to communicants, it has much less to offer to outsiders than Weill's *Judaism*. Monod is of Huguenot descent and his Protestantism should have had the adjective French placed before it. It also is concerned too exclusively with theological doctrine and ritual to meet the needs of the objective sociologist.

Two other books, belonging to "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" series are as interesting to the folk sociologist as to the religionist, and perhaps even more satisfying. Laing's *Survivals of Roman Religion* has brought together from many sources the evidence for the persistence of "pagan" beliefs and practices in the popular and the official religious life of modern peoples. This book should prove to be of the utmost value to the sociologist who has often been afraid to touch very heavily upon the question of folk survivals in religion. While mainly a compilation, the assembled content will be fairly new

to most sociologists. Moore's *Ancient Beliefs in the Immortality of the Soul*, although much more specialized, is also valuable to the folk sociologist. The author traces the origins of modern belief in an after life back to Homer, through the Christian leaders and Greek philosophers.

## IX

Cultural development is, of course, largely due to the response of exceptional men to exceptional needs or opportunities. Galileo was one of these unusual men and he had the perspicacity to see that the Aristotelian system could not explain the new universe. Emile Namur has told tersely and understandingly the story of Galileo's search for truth and his courage to speak when Holy Office and Pope—to say nothing of lesser fundamentalists—held before him the stake and actually consigned him to prison. The book is not bitter, but is frank where our age needs frankness. *Jacob Fugger the Rich* is the story of another culture maker, but the appeal is to those who seek material treasure rather than the riches of science. Fugger amassed a great fortune by properly regulating his religion and by lending to pope and emperor in return for monopoly and special privilege. But the decay of Spain was probably due as much to the economic restrictions of the Fuggers as to any other one cause. Jacob's opinion of himself reminds me of something I have read in the New Testament about those who thank God they are not as other men. *Edwin Chadwick and the Early Public Health Movement in England* gives the history of a great cultural movement which has served mankind almost as much as did the work of Galileo. The book is carefully and succinctly done and is a credit to the University of Iowa Studies, of which it is a unit.

*Burton, Arabian Nights Adventurer*, by Fairfax Downey, was something of a disap-

pointment to me—perhaps because it sought to play up a cheap mystery and sensationalism in the man, while the really solidly heroic side of the great traveller appears largely to have been beyond the author. Also, a great biography can never stand too much emphasis upon a man's vices—not even in an age when a considerable sale may be hoped for to the culturally inclined bootleggers and racketeers. I came to the book looking for an understanding analysis of Burton's discoveries and left it impressed by his interest in opium, women, and Arab tales. Perhaps, however, this was a fitting introduction to Beardsley's *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* and Quaife's *The Kingdom of St. James*, for certainly these early saints of our one great essay in polygyny were vigorous people with much imagination and, if we may believe the biographers, not too much nicety of morals. But, however much the Mormons may have resembled Burton (he visited Salt Lake City in 1860), both biographers are masters at their craft. Beardsley has undoubtedly collected the sources and has turned them into a narrative that makes Smith and his companions walk the stage as in real life. For me his occasionally flippant style is a drawback, but possibly the Amos and Andy fans demand it. Quaife's treatise is more dignified, if somewhat less strikingly written, and is the story of a rival to Brigham Young for the successorship of Smith—James J. Strang—about whom the present generation knows little or nothing. Strang, equally with Smith, was a character who should delight the social psychologist, if not the reformer.

But the most remarkable of all this group of books is *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. The author seems to grasp but the simplest of sociological principles, but he is one of the greatest case histories in public opinion and propa-

ganda extant. With spirits of adventure and reform about equally mixed he mingled in almost everything of public importance in the last thirty or forty years—wars, vice crusades, corrupt cities, trusts, gangsterism, labor violence, Mexico, Europe, peace propaganda. His glory reached its climax during the muckraking days before the "defenders of civilization" bought up the press and taught the reading public to prefer pictures to facts. He was also used by Wilson and others in an attempt to get some light during their "war to end war" in a fog. All of these things he recounts as lucidly and as appealingly as in the old days. It is the best history I know of the twentieth century in America, and is as good a text book in social psychology as *Middletown* is in sociology. But isn't it a pity that old men who have been active become a bit sentimental and conservative in their last wills and testaments?

### X

If movements are less interesting than men it must be because they are more abstract. *By the Waters of Babylon* (Louis Wallis) has the advantage of being "novelized history." It is a story of the oppressions of the peasant farmers of Judea by the rich nobles of Jerusalem at the time of the second captivity. The author, one of the great authorities on Jewish institutions, has chosen this form to bring out the class conflict of that time and to connect it up with the religious evolution of the nation, and especially with the compiling of the Jewish canon, the fall of Jerusalem, and the work of Jeremiah.

*Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Mediaeval England* (Messenger) presents an interesting picture of doctrinal conflicts as well as of personal attitudes in the religious life of the time through the medium of one form of literature. To the folk

sociologist this is a very useful book. *The Napoleonic Wars and German Nationalism in Austria* (Langsam) is of more especial interest, however, to the social psychologist and student of public opinion. Propaganda work on the part of government and of its literary favorites is well illustrated here. Incidentally also the book portrays an important national movement for the integration of a Germanic culture in Austria in opposition to the Napoleonic movement. *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Phelps) approaches more nearly to formal history, but it is institutional rather than merely political history. Those who are inclined to look upon the present disarmament programs and the like as proper subjects for purely political manipulation might learn a useful lesson from these very hopeful endeavors at peace between 1835 and 1853—which came to nothing, because of the new imperialism. Wagner's *The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854* offers better food for prayerful thought, because it tells the story of how a great sporting organization (as it were) acquired a soul and a social purpose during a period of nearly eighty years. Under the prodding of such men as Kingsley, Maurice, Barnett and Stanley the church has become one of the great forces for better living in the best sense of the word. The story of this movement is interestingly and well told in this volume.

Hattersley's *Short History of Democracy* traces the development from the primitive to the present, touching Athenian, Roman, Mediaeval, Reformation, and seventeenth century forms of democracy on the way. The author brings out clearly the difficulties of intelligent popular rule in complex modern times, in which the very avenues of communication are dominated by an erstwhile democratic force (the third estate) now turned plutocratic. Even

modern substitutes for direct democracy—initiative, referendum, recall, etc.—do not seem to offer a complete solution of the problem. The book has been written to enable the democratic movement to understand itself.

## XI

Three excellent foreign books on journalism treat the subject largely from the standpoint of the relation of the press to democracy and social control. Leverault's *Journalism* is, however, primarily historical, and an excellent sketch of the rise of journalism it is. Most emphasis is placed on the French press, and especially the press of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century and that of the democratic movement between the revolutions of 1789 and 1848. *The Fourth Power* by Vienne is primarily the story of journalism in Belgium, with especial emphasis upon the socialist press. The growth, difficulties, personnel, and techniques of the socialist press are brought out admirably. Also the dangers from capitalist control of the press and the need of a more effective democratic press are emphasized. Ungria's *Greatness and Servitude of the Press* is, I think, the best book on the sociological working of the press I have ever seen. It should be translated into English, for there is no Kiwanis club adulation in it, and at the same time its exposures of special interest domination and perversion are dignified, fundamental, and thorough. It is really a most excellent discussion of all aspects of the relation of modern journalistic enterprise to society.

## XII

Flexner's *Universities* makes some observations on the social function of institutions of higher education as true and pertinent as the preceding discussions on popular education through the press. He

believes the universities should be reserved for the promotion of new and scientific ways of looking at our world, both through the lenses of the exact sciences and the eyes of the humanities. Therefore, all trade and vocational schools should be segregated from them, either as independent units or as parts of the secondary school system. He thinks only law and medicine, and possibly education, have sufficiently the experimental and investigational spirit to deserve units in the university organization. He, therefore, criticizes our American universities for their adolescent high school trends. He castigates both the American and English people for spending in a single year more for preparation for war in times of peace than all the higher educational institutions together have been able to accumulate in the way of endowment throughout all their history. He truly says these peoples do not understand their cultural orientation. He might have added that the universities are not doing as much to teach them this truth as a few semi-popular journals of opinion—which poses a question for this arch advocate of research (regardless of what the results are used for?) to answer.

*Catholic Culture in Alabama* (Kenny) is the story of an institution founded and nourished for the perpetuation of a system of religious beliefs along with science and letters amidst lovely surroundings and in a traditional atmosphere. It is an interesting chapter in American culture history, made the more vivid by the many illustrations and stories of personal interest. The college is seeking the means of expansion toward the university basis. *Indications for Curricula of Schools of Social Work* is the output of an official committee for the study of social work education in Germany. The findings set forth herein have been followed in social work training

since June, 1930. These schools have a two-fold purpose: training in the art of readjusting maladjusted individuals, and for the improvement of society as a whole. This second note seems largely wanting in training schools for social workers in this country, where the technique of case work appears to be the almost exclusive aim. Both these schools and schools with the primary motive of Spring Hill College would be excluded from university membership by Dr. Flexner.

## XIII

The theory of our culture in general is presented in Spann's *Social Theory*. He is an organic universalist and is strictly anti-individualist. In some ways he reminds the reader of the viewpoint of Dante and Saint Thomas. His rejection of Darwinism, of the natural selection hypothesis, and of the fact-grubbing methods of the physical sciences as applied to the social sciences, and his preference for the Kantian metaphysics, place him among that group of semi mystics—now much abroad in the world—who, having witnessed the failure of the militarist ideal to promote civilization, are now so confused that they doubt the power of science and would apparently turn back to the tom-tom and the fetish to deliver them. But of course this book is not primitive. It has some most excellent qualities. It merely needs to be free of its metaphysics. Fallon's *Principles of Social Economy* is a much used Belgian text in economics, with the traditional divisions into production, distribution, circulation (exchange), and consumption, but with more of a sociological emphasis than our business school texts have. Its social and religious viewpoints may be seen from the fact that it opposes public ownership and socialism, but believes in a wage sufficient to meet family needs. Malthus is discredited. Apparently the author does not

know that Malthus himself abandoned his arithmetical and geometrical ratios or appreciate the recent interpretations of population studies.

## XIV

War we always have with us. It is a favorite form of culture, since it enables individuals to strut without shame and peoples to steal and murder under the guise of patriotism. And here is a captain of the Argentine army—Leopold Ornstein—who reviews San Martin's *Campaign of the Andes* "in the light of modern doctrines of war," finding the tactics of the great patriot San Martin very like those of the German commanders. We might add that, in spite of their similarity, they were more successful. From France and Switzerland there comes something of an antidote in the form of a symposium on the *Sociology of War and Peace*, contributed by leading sociologists throughout the world. It is, in fact, the papers of the tenth congress of the International Institute of Sociology, held at Geneva in 1930. The inclusiveness of the book—covering as it does, the subjects of war and peace from the various standpoints of anthropology and ethnology, social psychology, religion, education, politics, jurisprudence, economics, and social control—renders this volume one of the best analytical treatises available for the student and the general reader.

From the standpoint of the prevention of war, Harley's *International Understanding* is the best catalog and account of the various agencies and movements promoting that end. The subtitle of the book is "Agencies Educating for a New World," and it expresses well what the author has attempted to do in bringing together all of the activities he could find which are attempting to promote an understanding of peoples. But alas, as long

as a few people in every country have the political and financial power to sell the blood of the men of good will for their own private profit, what can good will in the mere fighters do? Have we forgotten 1914-18? Or do we still believe in the magic of good will?

JACOBIN AND JUNTO, OR EARLY AMERICAN POLITICS AS VIEWED IN THE DIARY OF DR. NATHANIEL AMES 1758-1822. By Charles Warren. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931. 324 pp. \$3.50.

This study in the origins of, and early contests between, the Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans is intensely interesting and very valuable. It gives one a deep insight into the composition and principles of the two factions which grew into the first political parties of the United States: the one made up of "the wise, the good, and the rich" (p. 161), the other of "men of lost character and broken fortunes, disappointed seekers of office, rapacious men, idle profligates, and desperadoes of all descriptions," if we are to believe the Federalist leaders.

The study is localized in Massachusetts, centering around Dedham and Boston, with sufficient notice to other states and localities to make clear that the patchwork shown would fit into the pattern at large. The subtitle is somewhat misleading, for a large part of the work is drawn from contemporary newspaper accounts and pamphlets. This is done to such an extent that the reader is inclined to forget that the book is said to be built upon the Diary of Dr. Ames. Some chapters of the work are in fact written largely from sources other than the diary. It is only fair to say, however, that the diary furnishes the central theme of the story which covers the period, roughly speaking, from 1760 to 1820.

This period was one of the bitterest in

the political history of the United States. In fact Mr. Warren says that "In those years the American people showed a capacity for passionate and sentimental expression, and for violence of speech and action, which was strangely out of keeping with the usual reticence of the Anglo-Saxon" (p. 3). The reviewer cannot agree that this is out of keeping with American character. It is in close accord with the intense partisanship of the Jacksonian Period, the sectional bitterness of the slavery controversy, the partisan hatred of the World War, and the fanaticism and recrimination of the presidential campaign of 1928.

*Jacobin and Junto* shows very clearly the intensity of interest in politics in America. In it the witty Dr. Nathaniel Ames, Anti-Federalist brother of the staunch Federalist leader, Fisher Ames, reveals through his diary in vivid, entertaining language the violent views of the vituperative partisans of his day. And not least of the bitter partisans was the Doctor himself, for we learn that he refused to attend his brother's funeral because he feared the Federalists would make use of "ridiculous pomp" to advance their party cause.

The author goes into minute detail in such dramatic episodes as the Fairbanks case, the Selfridge murder, and the split in the Dedham church, and then with very brief explanations links them with his central theme of politics. The study would have been more valuable had the order been reversed. A short descriptive account of such affairs would have sufficed, but a more extended discussion of their political significance is needed. Mr. Warren quotes at length from his sources in order to make clear the contemporary view, but this often detracts from the clarity of expression, because of the long, rambling and often obscure sentences which result. Furthermore, the reader

gets the impression that while Mr. Warren tries to be absolutely fair, he nevertheless lets his partisan views color his interpretation.

Two topics, discussed at length, seem to the reviewer to make the book distinctly worth while. The first of these is the part which foreign affairs played in the beginnings of party organization and the extreme steps taken by the Federalists in the "Gag Law" to prevent criticism; and the other is the bitter condemnation of Jefferson by the Federalists and their attitude toward the War of 1812. Their bitter partisanship led the Massachusetts Federalists and the Massachusetts state government to throw every obstacle within their power in the way of the successful prosecution of the war. Not only did they impede the enlistment of men and the subscription of money, but they even conspired to dissolve the Union and to form a Northern Confederacy. Mr. Warren boldly sums up his views in the following words: "In fact, the whole course of the Federalist leaders carried them very near the border line of secession and disunion, if not treason" (p. 217).

This study surveys a wide field of human activity: college life, business enterprise, social activities, religion, war and peace, law, and politics. Politics is the central theme, however, and is shown "intruding upon funerals, weaving itself around murders, interfering with professional business, sowing dissensions in families and among neighbors," and, finally, "splitting churches in twain."

Intensely interesting is the personality of Dr. Ames. His whole hearted support of Jeffersonian principles leads him to condemn in no uncertain language his Federalist opponents. His acrid wit and pungent language never permit the reader's interest to wander.

The work is singularly free from typo-

graphical errors, but its usefulness is marred by the absence of an index.

FLETCHER M. GREEN.

*University of North Carolina.*

HENRY CHARLES CAREY, A STUDY IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT. By A. D. H. KAPLAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931. 96 pp. \$1.00.

In this little monograph, Henry C. Carey, the first truly American economist is re-introduced to American students of the social sciences. It is quite refreshing to note this nominal, but somewhat belated, American recognition of the real merit of the only American economist to be accorded a place in recent histories of economic thought by two European authors, namely, Othmar Spann and Alexander P. Gray.

A prominent teacher of economics recently remarked in a class discussion, "It is rather strange that this man Carey whom no erudite German scholar would fail to quote at length in any economic treatise should have been so neglected or overlooked by his fellow American students of economics." In the study here reviewed, this man Carey, who clearly anticipated Frank A. Fetter's treatment of rent and S. N. Patten's justification of the American protective tariff policy, and who less clearly and distinctly stated even the Austrian-Clark-Jevonian theory of marginal utility, thirty or more years in advance, is formally presented to his fellow countrymen.

Upon the passing of Carey, newspapers commonly referred to him as, "America's most widely known private citizen." His chief work, *Principles of Social Science*, was translated into five European languages and Japanese, and was widely used abroad as a text. The single comprehensive study of the economic system of Carey, in its entirety, is only available in German.

Passing strange that Carey has received such scant attention at the hands of his fellow American economists. Perhaps this condition grows out of a feeling of embarrassment over Carey's wholehearted, but at times quite fanciful and bizarre, defense and endorsement of protective tariffs for the United States.

Passing to the monograph proper, the author gives in the introduction his reasons for presenting a study of Carey which have much in common with the thoughts expressed in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter contains a sketch of Carey's life. Born in Philadelphia, December 15, 1793, the son of a printer and publisher, at an early age, Carey entered the business as a partner. At the age of forty-two, having earned a goodly competence, Carey, like Ricardo, retired from business to devote himself to the study of social science problems. Carey's home in Philadelphia was, until his death in 1879, a focal gathering point for distinguished economists, statesmen, and others interested in kindred activities.

In the succeeding chapters are outlined, first, the state of American economic thought in Carey's time. Apparently, until then little real progress had been made and practically no originality and independence of thought had been shown. In the following chapter is traced the development of Carey's economic thought, from the early complete acceptance of extreme laissez-faire, including free trade, to the advocacy of wide-spread governmental interference, including protective, if not prohibitory tariffs. In another chapter, the validity of Carey's doctrines is appraised. Here his views, influenced no doubt by his youthful, undeveloped American surroundings, particularly those on land and population, have led to his classification with Bastiat as a leading optimist. Carey would have none of Ricardo's rent,

nor of Malthus' population theories. Because of Carey's criticisms, John Stuart Mill was led to restate various of his views. Also, since the time of Carey, economists generally have been much more circumspect in their statements of the application and meaning of the law of diminishing returns.

Carey's economics was distinctly normative, or quoting the author at this point: "... it should be evident that his writings were surcharged with the consciousness of a mission to perform. He was not satisfied with a description of the economic organization; the facts of life must be organized into principles or laws; and these laws must show the way to a happier economic and social order. . . . He expressed the slogan of high wages and prosperity a century before the 'school of Henry Ford' ". . .

Not many of us will take the trouble to wade through the voluminous writings of this important early American economist. Through this monograph of Dr. Kaplan's, a speaking acquaintance with this man Carey may be gained, and for this creditable presentation, students of the social sciences are indebted to the author.

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY.

*University of Kentucky.*

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Harold A. Phelps. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932. 767 PP.

A new approach to the study of modern social problems is made in this work by Professor Phelps on the principle that only those problems which have been given scientific investigation and research, sufficient to make effective analysis and comparison in relationship, shall be treated. The problems studied are selective and are classified under three types, namely, economic sources of social disorganization; physical and mental sources of social prob-

lems; and cultural sources of social disorganization. This classification is made to indicate the relative definiteness of the problem to be analyzed. Poverty and unemployment are classified as economic while the problems of the aged and the homeless are studied as cultural sources. The old line of dependency is thus broken down. Each problem is treated as "a cluster of problems" and emphasis is given to correlations and coordinations. In each grouping there is a separation of theoretical and practical material. Much emphasis is given to the results of research studies and experimentation. The material and conclusions abound in authentic scientific data. There is a demand throughout for the scientific approach to the problems. Frequent use of statistical material insures a sense of dependability of the content. As a pedagogical aid the Appendix is very valuable, as it organizes discussion about a few problems, and definitely relates theory and practice. The bibliographies listed at the end of each chapter are on the whole well chosen. The questions at the close of each chapter offer another good pedagogical help.

Many major and modern social problems are purposely omitted because "they have not been, or cannot be, stated as scientific problems or subjected to the methods now available to social investigation." While the content is full and adequate for any one course in a college curriculum this omission is a weakness. In a volume titled *Contemporary Social Problems* it is difficult to omit problems of race relations, population trends, urban and rural living, and trends of the social institutions. These problems have been scientifically studied by research and experimentation.

As a general statement about most texts on social problems there is entirely too much emphasis given to the pathology of social problems. The positive field of

social change, adjustment and adaptation should receive the major consideration. May the time come when this emphasis, so vividly expressed through the recent report of The President's Research Committee on Social Trends will form the basis of our thinking and working in the field of social problems.

HAROLD D. MEYER.

*University of North Carolina.*

THE YELLOW DOG CONTRACT. By Joel L. Seidman. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. 96 pp. \$1.00. (Johns Hopkins University studies in Historical and Political Science. Series L. No. 4.)

This study dealing with the historical and legal evolution of the yellow dog contract, the employers' use of the contract, provisions in the contract, and the effect of the contract upon union activity will prove valuable to the student of labor problems. The English case of *Lumley vs. Gye* and American cases, such as those of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company and of the Red Jacket Consolidated Coal and Coke Company occupy positions in the historical discussion. Both the Senate battle over the confirmation of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court and the legislative attempts to prohibit the use of the anti-union contract are discussed. The author also points out that the New York courts in the Exchange Bakery and the Interborough Rapid Transit cases developed a new doctrine that the yellow dog contract is not a valid contract. However, he does not distinguish the facts in the Exchange Bakery case from those in the Hitchman case. In the background of the latter case there were evidences of malicious intent and violence which do not appear in either of the above New York cases. Furthermore, the nature of the argument by which the legality of the anti-union contract was questioned should be more fully treated.

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Nevertheless, the legal aspects of this "pseudo contract" are more thoroughly covered than in the majority of treatises on labor law. An illustration of this fact is seen in the treatment given the cases of *Adair vs. United States* and *Coppage vs. Kansas*. All too frequently the holdings in these two cases are differentiated only in the fact that in the former instance a federal statute was ruled unconstitutional, while in the latter case a state law received the same treatment. As the author indicates, the *Adair* case did not rule upon the anti-union contract provisions of the Erd-

man Act. The court in the *Coppage* case, however, specifically said that a state did not possess the constitutional right to prohibit the use of the yellow dog contract by employers. In fact, it may be said that one of the chief contributions of this work is to be found in the careful manner in which the author has fitted the substance of the rulings of the leading cases into the evolutionary development of court doctrine upon the legal status of the anti-union contract.

ROBIN HOOD.

*University of North Carolina.*

### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

#### PROTESTANT HOME MISSIONS TO CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS.

By Theodore Abel. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. 143 pp. \$1.00.

JOE BAILEY, THE LAST DEMOCRAT. By Sam Hanna Acheson. New York: Macmillan, 1932. 420 pp. \$2.50.

THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY. VOL. II. FROM CIVIL WAR TO WORLD POWER. By James Truslow Adams. New York: Scribner's, 1933. 438 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.

THE UTILIZATION OF MARGINAL LANDS. By William Allen. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1939. 109 pp.

GEORGIA, A PAGEANT OF YEARS. By Mary Savage Anderson and others for the Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, 1933. 245 pp. \$2.50.

QUILEUTE TEXTS. By Manuel J. Andrade. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. 211 pp. \$4.00.

FROM CHAOS TO CONTROL. By Sir Norman Angel. New York: Century, 1933. 208 pp. \$2.00.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD. 1931-1932. New York: General Education Board, 1933. 79 pp. Paper.

SOCIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS. By Claude E. Arnett. Emporia, Kansas: Emporia Gazette Press, 1932. Distributed by the Author, 1715 Rural Street, Emporia, Kansas. 235 pp. Paper.

DISPLACEMENT OF MEN BY MACHINES. By Elizabeth Faulkner Baker. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 284 pp. \$3.50.

INSTRUCTION IN SCIENCE. By Wilbur L. Beauchamp.

Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph No. 22. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. 63 pp. Ten cents.

HOW TO RESTORE VALUES. The Quick, Safe Way Out of the Depression. By Ambrose W. Benkert. In collaboration with Earl Harding. New York: The John Day Company, 1933. 32 pp. \$25. Paper. (The John Day Pamphlets, No. 23.)

UNIVERSITY TEACHING BY MAIL. A Survey of Correspondence Instruction conducted by American Universities. By Walton S. Birtner and Harvey F. Mallory. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 355 pp. \$2.50.

RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURAL LAND TENURE. Scope and Method. Prepared under the direction of The Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. Edited by John D. Black. New York: Social Science Research Council, April, 1933. 89 pp. \$70. Paper.

RESEARCH IN FAMILY FARM LIVING: SCOPE AND METHOD. Prepared under the direction of The Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. Edited by John D. Black. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1933. 209 pp. \$75. Paper.

RESEARCH IN RURAL ORGANIZATION: SCOPE AND METHOD. Prepared under the direction of The Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. Edited by John D. Black; C. C. Zimmerman, Executive Secretary of Special Advisory Committee on Rural Organization. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1933. 160 pp. \$75. Paper.

- SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL PROCESSES.** Selected Papers from The Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, 1932. Edited by Emory S. Bogardus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 154 pp. \$1.50.
- NEW TYPES OF OLD AMERICANS AT HARVARD.** By Gordon Townsend Bowles. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1932. 144 pp. \$2.50.
- ARTICULATION OF HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.** By P. Roy Brammell. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. 96 pp. \$1.10 (Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education).
- INTRAMURAL AND INTERSCHOLASTIC ATHLETICS.** By P. Roy Brammell. Bulletin 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. 143 pp. Ten cents.
- WOMEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. A STUDY OF THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.** By Sophonisba P. Breckenridge. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933. 364 pp. \$4.00.
- THE INFLUENCE OF TECHNIQUE ON THE DECORATIVE STYLE IN THE DOMESTIC POTTERY OF CULHUACAN.** By Anita Brenner. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. 94 pp. \$2.00.
- A FINDING AND BROADENING COURSE IN PUBLIC SPEAKING.** By Eugene S. Briggs and Vocille M. Pratt. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1933. 103 pp. \$1.25 net.
- BRITISH EXPERIENCE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.** A Summary of Evidence Taken by the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance. Part Four. Administration, Abuses and Anomalies. Monograph Ten in a Series on Social Insurance. New York: Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1933. 75 pp. Paper.
- THE GIRL AND HER JOB. A Handbook for Beginners.** By Esther Eberstadt Brooke. New York: Appleton, 1933. 140 pp. \$1.00.
- THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL CASE WORK.** By Josephine C. Brown. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1933. 165 pp. \$1.00.
- THE AFRICAN LABOURER.** By Major G. St. J. Orde Browne. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. 240 pp. \$5.00.
- RURAL SOCIAL TRENDS.** By Edmund De S. Brunner and J. H. Kolb. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933. 386 pp. \$4.00.
- THE PROFESSIONS.** By A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. 536 pp. \$6.75.
- AS THE EARTH TURNS.** By Gladys Hasty Carroll. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 339 pp. \$2.50.
- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN CHICAGO: 1929-30. A Study of the Economic Significance of the Industrial Location of Trade-Unionism.** By C. Lawrence Christensen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 396 pp. \$3.00.
- TEN THOUSAND OUT OF WORK.** By Ewan Clague and Webster Powell. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933. 188 pp. \$2.00.
- READINGS IN MARKETING.** By Fred E. Clark. Revised Edition. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 798 pp. Maps and graphs. \$3.25.
- SOURCES AND USES OF FEDERAL, STATE AND COUNTY REVENUES.** By S. L. Clement. Raleigh, N. C.: State College, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1933. 19 pp. (Miscellaneous Pamphlet No. 11.)
- LAW AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. ESSAYS IN LEGAL PHILOSOPHY.** By Morris R. Cohen. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933. 403 pp.
- A GUIDE THROUGH WORLD CHAOS.** By G. D. H. Cole. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932. 554 pp. \$3.75.
- COUNTRYWOMEN IN COUNCIL.** The English and Scottish Women's Institutes with Chapters on the Movement in the Dominions and on Townswomen's Guilds. By Janet E. Courtney. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. 195 pp. \$1.25.
- DANCING IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.** By the Committees on Dancing of the American Physical Education Association for the Years 1931 and 1932. New York: Barnes, 1933. 134 pp. \$1.00. Paper.
- METHODS OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.** By George R. Davies and Walter F. Crowder. New York: Wiley, 1933. 355 pp. \$3.25.
- THE NEW RUSSIA. BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND FIVE YEAR PLANS.** Edited by Jerome Davis. Introduction by Edward M. House. New York: The John Day Company, 1933. 265 pp. \$2.50.
- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN EUROPE.** By Clive Day. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 447 pp. \$2.50.
- A PERSONNEL STUDY OF DULUTH POLICEMEN.** By Harold S. Diehl and Donald G. Paterson with the assistance of Beatrice J. Dvorak and Howard P. Longstaff. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933. 24 pp. \$5.50. Paper.
- TONE THE BELL EASY.** Edited by J. Frank Dobie. Austin: The Texas Folk-Lore Society, 1932. 199 pp.
- THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN NORTH WALES.** By A. H. Dodd. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. 439 pp. \$3.75.
- THIS TROUBLED WORLD.** By John Drinkwater. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 105 pp. \$1.50.

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- FANNY KEMBLE. By Leota S. Driver. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. 271 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- INTERIM MEASURES OF PROTECTION IN INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSIES. By Dr. E. Dumbauld. The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932. 204 pp. 4 guilders; cloth, 5.25 guilders.
- THE DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION OF AMERICANS IN MEXICO. By Frederick Sherwood Dunn. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 439 pp. \$5.00.
- THE PROTECTION OF NATIONALS. A STUDY IN THE APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. By Frederick Sherwood Dunn. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. 228 pp. \$2.25.
- INSTRUCTION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES. By Helen M. Eddy. Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph No. 24, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. 61 pp. Ten cents.
- INSECURITY: A CHALLENGE TO AMERICA. A STUDY OF SOCIAL INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ABROAD. By Abraham Epstein. Introduction by Frances Perkins. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933. 680 pp.
- ALL ABOUT GEORGIA. TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF ROMANCE AND REALITY. A Bi-Centennial Tribute. By Lawton B. Evans. New York: American Book Company, 1933. 99 pp.
- JOB INSURANCE. By John Bertwell Ewing. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933. 263 pp. \$2.50.
- MANOR LIFE IN OLD FRANCE. FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE SIRE DE GOUBERVILLE FOR THE YEARS 1549-1562. By Katharine Fedden. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 228 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- THIS CHANGING WORLD. AS I SEE ITS TREND AND PURPOSE. By Samuel S. Fels. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933. 295 pp. Illustrations by Hendrik Willem van Loon. \$2.50.
- VENTURES IN SIMPLER LIVING. By Daniel Johnson Fleming. New York: International Missionary Council, 1933. 169 pp. \$1.00.
- SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION. By Guy Stanton Ford. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933. 29 pp. \$0.25.
- OUR MOVIE MADE CHILDREN. By Henry James Forman. Introduction by W. W. Charters. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 288 pp. \$2.50.
- OMAHA SECRET SOCIETIES. By R. F. Fortune. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 193 pp. \$4.00.
- EINLEITUNG IN DIE SOZIOLOGIE. By Hans Freyer. Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle und Meyer, 1931. 150 pp. Mk 1.80.
- RESPONSIBLE BUREAUCRACY. By Carl Joachim Friedrich and Taylor Cole. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. 93 pp.
- FROM PLAN TO REALITY. A REPORT OF FOUR YEARS' PROGRESS ON THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS, WITH A PROGRAM OF PRESENT NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES. New York: Regional Plan Association, 1933. 142 pp. Illustrated.
- PHYLOANALYSIS. A STUDY IN THE GROUP OR PHYLETIC METHOD OF BEHAVIOUR-ANALYSIS. By William Galt. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1933. 151 pp. 2/6.
- POLITICAL SCIENCE. By Raymond Garfield Gettell. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1933. 488 pp. \$2.80.
- UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. By Mary B. Gilson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 30 pp. Twenty-five cents. Paper.
- NORWEGIAN SAILORS IN AMERICAN WATERS. A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF MARITIME ACTIVITY ON THE EASTERN SEABOARD. By Knut Gjerset. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1933. 271 pp. \$2.50.
- MAKING EFFICIENT CITIZENS. By Allan Thayer Greenman. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1933. 148 pp. \$2.00 net.
- GENERAL INDEX: FINAL REPORTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONFERENCE ON HOME BUILDING AND HOME OWNERSHIP. Edited by John M. Gries and James Ford. Washington, D. C.: National Capital Press, Inc., 1933. 114 pp.
- THE FARMER IS DOOMED. By Louis M. Hacker. New York: John Day Company, 1933. 31 pp. \$2.5. Paper.
- SCIENCE AND HUMAN LIFE. By J. B. S. Haldane. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933. 287 pp.
- SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1933. Edited by Fred S. Hall. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1933. 680 pp. \$4.00.
- DAS HOCH MITTELALTER. GESCHICHTE DES ABENDLANDES VON 900-1250. By Karl Hampe. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1932. 346 pp.
- A HANDBOOK ON STATISTICAL REPORTING IN THE FIELD OF MEDICAL SOCIAL SERVICE. Prepared by a Joint Committee of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers and the Advisory Committee on Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields of the United States Children's Bureau. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. 39 pp. Five cents.
- THE HANDICAPPED CHILD. Report of the Committee on Physically and Mentally Handicapped. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: Century, 1933. 452 pp. \$3.00.

- CHURCH SCHOOLS OF TODAY.** By Hugh Hartshorne and Earle V. Ehrhart. New Haven: Yale University Press for the Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. 260 pp. \$2.00.
- STANDARDS AND TRENDS IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.** By Hugh Hartshorne, Helen R. Stearns, and Willard E. Uphaus. New Haven: Yale University Press for the Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. 230 pp. \$2.00.
- THE MIND OF CHINA.** By Edwin D. Harvey. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933. 321 pp. \$3.50.
- TOWARD PLANETISM.** By Roger R. Hawkins. Peiping, China: San Yu Press, 1933. 33 pp.
- THE APPROACH TO THE PARENT. A STUDY IN SOCIAL TREATMENT.** By Esther Heath. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1933. 163 pp. \$1.25.
- MORTALITY OF BUSINESS FIRMS IN MINNEAPOLIS, ST. PAUL AND DULUTH.** By Ernest A. Heilman. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, May, 1933. 30 pp. \$5.00. Paper. (Bulletins of the Employment Stabilization Research Institute.)
- HOW MEXICANS EARN AND LIVE. A STUDY OF THE INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF ONE HUNDRED MEXICAN FAMILIES IN SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.** By the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California and Constantine Panunzio. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1933. 114 pp. \$1.20. Paper.
- THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF POWER PRODUCTION.** By Fred Henderson. New York: John Day, 1933. 220 pp. \$1.75.
- MONEY POWER AND HUMAN LIFE.** By Fred Henderson. New York: John Day, 1933. 205 pp. \$1.75.
- THE OXFORD GROUP MOVEMENT.** By Herbert Hensley Henson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. 82 pp. \$1.00.
- SOCIAL PLANNING AND ADULT EDUCATION.** By John W. Herring. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. 138 pp. \$1.25.
- THE AMERICAN SCENE.** By Edwin C. Hill. New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1933. 454 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- WHAT IS AMERICAN?** By Frank Ernest Hill. New York: John Day, 1933. 207 pp. \$2.00.
- PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY.** By E. T. Hiller. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933. 661 pp. \$3.50.
- FORCE IN PEACE. Force Short of War in International Relations.** By Albert E. Hindmarsh. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. 249 pp. \$2.50.
- ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIVISION OF STATE AID.** By Harry M. Hirsch. Albany: State of New York, Department of Social Welfare, 1931-32. 16 pp. Paper.
- TOWARDS THE UNDERSTANDING OF KARL MARX. A REVOLUTIONARY INTERPRETATION.** By Sidney Hook. New York: The John Day Company, 1933. 347 pp. \$2.50.
- PROFITABLE FARMING.** By J. Milton Hover and Marvin S. Pittman. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1932. 412 pp. Illustrated. \$1.00.
- ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY.** By Ellsworth Huntington, Frank E. Williams, Samuel van Valkenburg. New York: Wiley, 1933. 630 pp. \$3.75.
- MY AMERICAN FRIENDS.** By L. P. Jacks. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 263 pp. \$2.00.
- AN ECONOMIC STUDY OF SUMTER COUNTY AGRICULTURE.** By W. C. Jensen, B. A. Russell, Marvin Guin. Clemson College, South Carolina: Clemson Agricultural College, South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, 1933. Bulletin 288. 72 pp. Paper.
- THE BASIS OF THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEXAS. A STUDY OF THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEXAS RESOURCES.** By Elmer H. Johnson. Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1933. 148 pp. Maps. \$2.00. Paper.
- THE SECONDARY SCHOOL LIBRARY.** By B. Lamar Johnson. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. 109 pp. \$1.10. (Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education.)
- DEBT AND PRODUCTION. THE OPERATING CHARACTERISTICS OF OUR INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY.** By Bassett Jones. New York: John Day, 1933. 147 pp. Illustrated with graphs.
- JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF A CONVENTION OF LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC GENTLEMEN, HELD IN THE COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1830.** Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 1933. A reproduction of the original edition printed in 1831 issued as a Centennial publication. 286 pp. \$2.00.
- A WAY FORWARD FOR THE WOOL INDUSTRY.** By Emanuel Kaplan. New York: The Business Bourse, 1933. 252 pp.
- HISTORY AND DESTINY OF THE JEWS.** By Josef Kastein. Translated from the German by Huntley Paterson. New York: Viking, 1933. 464 pp. \$3.50.
- THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.** By Ruth M. Kellogg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 192 pp. \$1.00. Paper.
- REPORT OF A RESEARCH INTO THE ATTITUDES AND HABITS OF RADIO LISTENERS.** By Clifford Kirkpatrick. St. Paul, Minnesota: Webb Book Publishing Company, 1933. 63 pp. \$1.50. Paper.

- FARM FAMILY LIVING IN WISCONSIN.** By E. L. Kirkpatrick, P. E. McNall and May L. Cowles. Madison: Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, coöperating with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1933. 46 pp. (Research Bulletin 114.)
- SOME BASIC STATISTICS IN SOCIAL WORK.** Derived from Data of Family Agencies in The City of New York. By Philip Klein with the collaboration of Ruth Voris. New York: Columbia University Press for the New York School of Social Work, 1933. 218 pp. \$3.50.
- MAJOR ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY.** By Maurice H. Krout. Chicago: The College Press, 1933. 364 pp. \$2.75.
- FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC LANDS IN TEXAS.** By Aldon Socrates Lang. Waco, Texas: Baylor University, 1932. 262 pp. \$1.50 prepaid. Paper.
- THE WORLD SINCE 1914.** By Walter C. Langsam. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. 723 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS.** By Harold J. Laski. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1933. 267 pp. \$1.50.
- RED HILL—NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE AND RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL SECTION.** By William Lester Leap. University of Virginia: Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, 1933. 165 pp.
- THE UNIVERSE OF SCIENCE.** By H. Levy. New York: Century, 1933. 224 pp. \$2.00.
- THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY. A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MOTIVATING FACTORS OF SOCIAL CONDUCT.** By Wen Kwei Liao. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933. 354 pp.
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